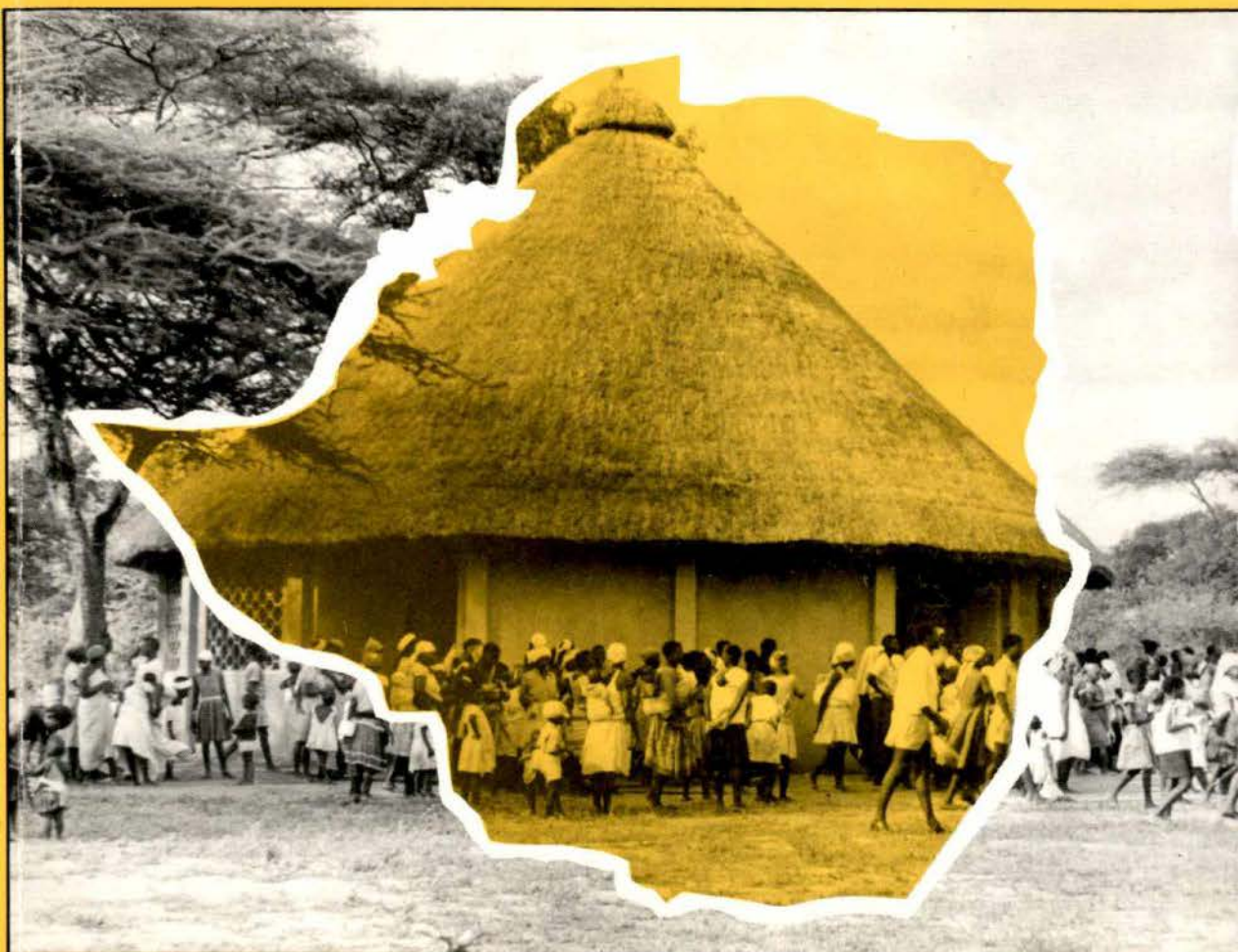


A HISTORY
OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS
IN ZIMBABWE
1890 - 1939



C.J.M. Zvobgo



A History of Christian Missions In Zimbabwe, 1890-1939

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To The Memory of Chandapiwa

General Introduction

Jesus' command to his Disciples to go and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,¹ prompted Christian missionaries to go and evangelize all nations throughout the world. The expansion of Christianity to various parts of the world from the First Century, A.D. to 1914, has been studied by Latourette² while the planting of Christianity in Africa, has been studied by Groves.³ The expansion of Christianity to Zimbabwe in the 19th Century, came from South Africa. The beginnings, growth and expansion of missionary work in South Africa, has been studied by du Plessis.⁴ It is in this wider context that the planting of Christianity in Zimbabwe in the 19th Century, must be understood.

At this point, a review of the more recent literature on the work of Christian missionaries in Zimbabwe and in a sense, a justification for this study, is called for.

Bhebe's study of Christian missions in Matabeleland, covers the period 1859 to 1923⁵ while Mashingaidze's study of Christian missions in Mashonaland, covers the period 1890 to 1930.⁶ The present study covers the work of Christian missionaries in both Matabeleland *and* Mashonaland and extends the period to 1939.

Some of the recent works on missionary enterprise in Zimbabwe, deal with the history of individual Christian denominations; these include E.M. Buckley's Thesis on the history of the British Methodist Church in Rhodesia from the 1890s to the 1940s,⁷ C.J. Zvobgo's work on *The Wesleyan Methodist Missions in Zimbabwe, 1891-1945*⁸; G.Z. Kapenzi's thesis on the work of the American Methodist Episcopal Church in Mashonaland from 1898 to 1967⁹; A. J. Dachs' and W.F. Rea's study, *The Catholic Church and Zimbabwe, 1879-1979*.¹⁰ The history of the Anglican Church has been studied by Broderick¹¹ and by Arnold.¹² The history of the Dutch Reformed Church in Zimbabwe, has been studied by Van der Merwe¹³ while the history of the Lutheran Church in Zimbabwe, has been studied by Soderstrom.¹⁴ The contribution of the American Methodist Episcopal Church to African education has been studied by Kamusikiri¹⁵ while the contribution of the Brethren in Christ Church to African education, has been studied by Hostetter.¹⁶

Medical missions have been a neglected theme in the history of Zimbabwe.¹⁷ With the exception of the works by Van der Merwe, Soderstrom and Zvobgo, none of the authors referred to above, has devoted time and effort to the study of medical missions. In 1973 Gelfand contributed a chapter on this theme¹⁸ but it was not until 1988 that he devoted an entire work to medical missions.¹⁹ The present study combines the three crucial components of missionary work in Zimbabwe: the ministry of preaching (evangelism), the ministry of teaching (education) and the ministry of healing (medical missions) and covers the work of all major Christian denominations in Zimbabwe from 1890 to 1939.

A study of the relationship between Church and State, is beyond the scope of this study; this question was studied by Ranger in 1962²⁰ and a comprehensive study was devoted to this question in a book published in 1988.²¹

The rise of Independent African Churches in Zimbabwe also lies outside the scope of this study; the rise of these churches was studied by Ranger in 1964²² and a comprehensive study of the rise of these churches among the Southern Shona, was made by Danciel in a book published in 1971.²³

I hope the present study will make a significant contribution to the history of Zimbabwe.

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List of Plates

Bernard Mizeki

Map of major Mission Stations

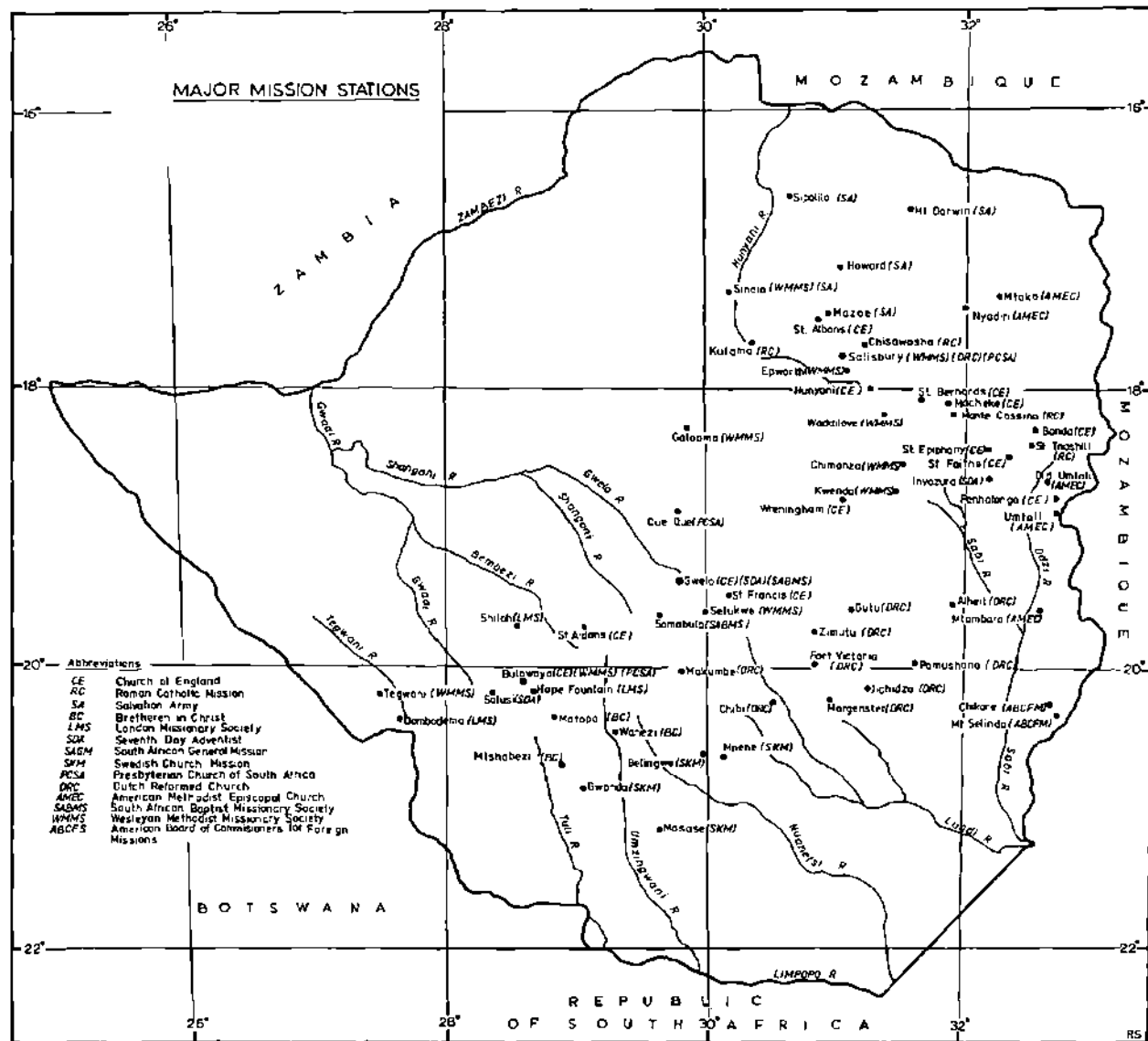
1. Fr Peter Prestage
2. Bishop G.W.H. Knight-Bruce
3. Revd A.A. Louw and Mrs Louw
4. Revd Owen Watkins
5. Revd Isaac Shimmin
6. Captain John Pascoe
7. Fr Marc Barthelemy
8. Revd John White
9. Revd Douglas Pelly
10. Nehanda and Kaguvi
11. Fr Francis Richartz
12. Bishop Joseph Hartzell
13. Revd J.B. Radasi
14. Fr J. O'Neil
15. Chief Tshitshi and daughters
16. Chief Gambo Sithole
17. Fr Richard Sykes
18. Canon Leonard Sagonda
19. Fr J. Loubière
20. Dr Samuel Gurney
21. Dr M.H. Steyn
22. Sister Madge Dry
23. Dr Denys Taylor
24. Sister Agatha M. Battersby
25. Revd Ezra Shumba

Abbreviations

CNC:	Chief Native Commissioner
NC:	Native Commissioner
LMS:	London Missionary Society
NADA:	Native Affairs Department Annual
PHH:	Prestage House, Harare
SPG:	Society for the propagation of the Gospel
SRQP:	Southern Rhodesia Quartely Paper
WMMS:	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
WC:	Written Correspondence
ZMR:	Zambezi Mission Record

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: <i>Christian Missions in Zimbabwe, 1890-1896</i>	1
Chapter 2: <i>Christian Missionaries and the Ndebele and Shona Risings, 1896-7</i>	22
Chapter 3: <i>Opening of New Mission Stations, 1897-1923</i>	66
Chapter 4: <i>The African Response to Christianity in Zimbabwe, 1898-1923</i>	91
Chapter 5: <i>Christian Missions and Western Education, 1898-1923</i>	149
Chapter 6: <i>Medical Missions, 1893-1923</i>	202
Chapter 7: <i>Christian Missions and African Education, 1924-1939</i>	215
Chapter 8: <i>Medical Missions, 1924-1939</i>	286
Chapter 9: <i>Great Strides Forward, 1924-1939</i>	319
Chapter 10: <i>Summary and Conclusions</i>	366
Bibliography	374
Subject Index and Name Index	400



Chapter 1

Christian Missions in Zimbabwe, 1890-1896

Background, 1859 - 1889

In the 19th Century, the pioneers of missionary enterprise in Matabeleland were missionaries of the London Missionary Society (LMS) who started their first mission station at Inyati in 1859¹ and the second at Hope Fountain in 1870.² Inyati mission farm covered 8,000 acres and Hope Fountain 6,000 acres.³ From 1859 to 1880 the LMS missionaries laboured in Matabeleland but did not win a single convert.⁴ The LMS missionaries were followed by the Jesuits who arrived at Lobengula's capital in 1879. On 20th December, 1887 they opened Empandeni mission with Fr Peter Prestage⁵ in charge.⁶

The vicissitudes of missionary enterprise in Matabeleland under Lobengula have been well studied by Bhebe⁷ and no further elaboration is called for except to say that after more than twenty years of labouring in Matabeleland, the LMS missionaries made only 12 converts who were baptised between 1881 and 1883.⁸ 'Because of their failure to make converts under Lobengula's regime', Bhebe has argued, 'the missionaries had by the 1880s come to the conclusion that the Ndebele system of government must be overthrown to pave the way for Christianity'.⁹ Prestage, for example, wrote on 29th May, 1883, 'Until the Matabeles are put down by brute force...they will never improve' ¹⁰

In the late 1880s the forces of colonialism were converging on the Ndebele kingdom in the wake of the signing of the Rudd Concession on 30th October, 1888 under which Rudd and his associates promised to pay Lobengula £100 every month and 1,000 rifles together with 100,000 rounds of ammunition in return for which Lobengula granted Rudd and his associates 'complete and exclusive charge' over all metals and minerals in his kingdom with full power to do all things they might deem necessary to 'win and procure the same and to hold, collect and enjoy the profits and revenue if any derivable from the said metals and minerals subject to the aforesaid payment'.¹¹

A detailed discussion of the Rudd Concession is beyond the scope of this study. This controversial Concession has been well analysed by Mary Stocker.¹² The significant point for our purposes was the impact of the Concession on the missionaries operating in Matabeleland. Writing from Empandeni on 30th October, 1889 Prestage said that when the rifles referred to in the Rudd Concession arrived in

March, 1889, 'to the surprise of all, the King would not accept them' although he had been taking the £100 'pretty regularly'. He said the King was trying to repudiate the Rudd Concession on the ground that he did not fully understand the Revd. C.D. Helm who was the interpreter. Rudd and his associates, however, maintained that Lobengula understood what he was doing. 'My opinion', Prestage wrote, 'is that the King was so carried away with the thoughts of a thousand rifles, that he signed the contract, hardly believing one single party could give him a thousand guns, and meanwhile the King has perhaps found out that the prospect of having white men all over his country has alarmed his subjects, and in consequence of such alarm, he will become unpopular and perhaps be assassinated for selling his country'. He said that as a result, Ndebele hostility towards all white men resident in Matabeleland had become such that he contemplated leaving Matabeleland. He added, 'Sacrificing one's life for religion is one thing, and it is to be hoped that there would be no fear on that score; but to be *assegaid* merely for being a white man is quite another thing, and no man in sound reason can wish for that... It is perhaps well that the crisis should come soon, as every year delays those of this nation, who, but for living under the present barbarous rule and debarred by their fear from embracing Christianity, would otherwise become Christians'.¹³

In the event, Prestage, not wishing to find himself a hostage to fortune, left Matabeleland on 11th November, 1889. Two LMS missionaries, W.A. Elliot and David Carnegie, 'yielding to the strong and urgent counsel of others', left Matabeleland at a few hours' notice taking their wives and families with them but leaving their property behind. Two other LMS missionaries, C.D. Helm and Bowen Rees, were already out of harm's way, having been away from their mission stations for weeks on visits to Cape Colony. *The Chronicle of the London Missionary Society* commented, 'For the present, therefore, Matabeleland is without a missionary. What the future will bring none can tell. Our brethren appear to have acted wisely in withdrawing from what seemed about to become a scene of bloodshed and savage fury'.¹⁴

Clearly, missionaries needed the support of a secular power if the evangelisation of Matabeleland was to succeed. This support was provided by the British South Africa Company which was preparing to colonise, first Mashonaland and later, Matabeleland. An informal alliance was established between the missionaries and the Company. Mashingaidze has argued that the alliance between the missionaries and the Company was 'built on the basis of a community of interests'. For their part, the missionaries needed the Company's protection and material support in order to proselytise among the Shona without fear of being molested by hostile tribes. On the other hand, Rhodes needed the moral support of the missionaries and deliberately

involved them in his schemes in order to head off humanitarian and philanthropic suspicion and criticism of his plans in England and South Africa.¹⁵ As we shall see later, what applied to Mashonaland applied *mutatis mutandis* to Matabeleland.

With this background, we shall consider in this Chapter, firstly, the arrival of the missionaries and the establishment of mission stations in Mashonaland (1890-1893); secondly, missionary attitudes towards the Anglo-Ndebele War of 1893 and its aftermath and thirdly, the establishment of mission stations in Matabeleland and Mashonaland from the fall of the Ndebele state in 1893 to the beginning of the Ndebele rising in March, 1896.

I

The Arrival of the Missionaries and the Establishment of Mission Stations in Mashonaland, 1890-1893

When the Pioneer Column - the spearhead of the white settlers - set off for Mashonaland in 1890, the Jesuit missionary, Fr. Andrew Hartmann,¹⁶ accompanied it as Chaplain.¹⁷ Canon Balfour of the Anglican Diocese of Bloemfontein, also accompanied the Pioneer Column as Chaplain.¹⁸ Cecil John Rhodes on behalf of the BSA Company, gave the Anglicans £600 towards the expenses of Anglican missions in Mashonaland.¹⁹ At the South African Provincial Synod held in January and February, 1891 Mashonaland was formed into a diocese and G.W.H. Knight-Bruce who had been Anglican Bishop of Bloemfontein since 1885,²⁰ and who, after his first visit to Matabeleland and Mashonaland in 1888, had advocated the establishment of an English Protectorate over the Shona in order to protect them from the 'inhuman cruelties' of the Ndebele,²¹ was appointed to take charge of it.²²

He reached Fort Salisbury on 17th September, 1891. He discussed with the Administrator, Dr L.S. Jameson, about land for Anglican missions. 'So far as the Chartered Company is concerned', he wrote, 'our Church is to have a right to 3,000 acres of land wherever we place a Mission'.²³ He added that 'the movement of the white man northward in Africa seems, rightly or wrongly, inevitable. It is only a question as to which white men shall move up... The Company makes for good'.²⁴ Bishop Knight-Bruce founded St. Augustine's mission near Penhalonga in 1891.²⁵ By the end of the year, five African evangelists were already doing useful preparatory work; of these, the most successful were Bernard Mizeki at Mangwende and Frank Ziqubu at Makoni.²⁶ In 1892 another Anglican missionary, Douglas Pelly, arrived.²⁷

Meanwhile, Mother Patrick Cosgrave,²⁸ accompanied by four Dominican Sisters - Francis Condon, Amica Kilduff, Ignatius Haslinger and Constantia Frommknecht²⁹ with Fr Prestage acting as Chaplain, arrived at Fort Salisbury in July, 1891. Mother Patrick with the support of the Sisters, founded the first hospital in Salisbury. The hospital consisted of two wattle-and-daub wards capable of holding 16 beds each; two additional huts for women and for isolation cases and a canvas ward with 8 beds.³⁰

The pioneer missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, led by Mr A.A. Louw, arrived at Mugabe's mountain on 9th September, 1891 and founded Morgenster mission³¹ named after Mr Louw's home in Paarl.³² In 1892 Mr Louw went to Salisbury to see Dr Jameson about land for the mission. Jameson granted him a farm of 6,000 morgen. In 1894 Mr Louw went to the Cape on furlough. While he was there, he was examined for the ministry and ordained. The ordination service was conducted at Stellenbosch on 21st March, 1894 by Professor Hofmeyer of the Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch.³³

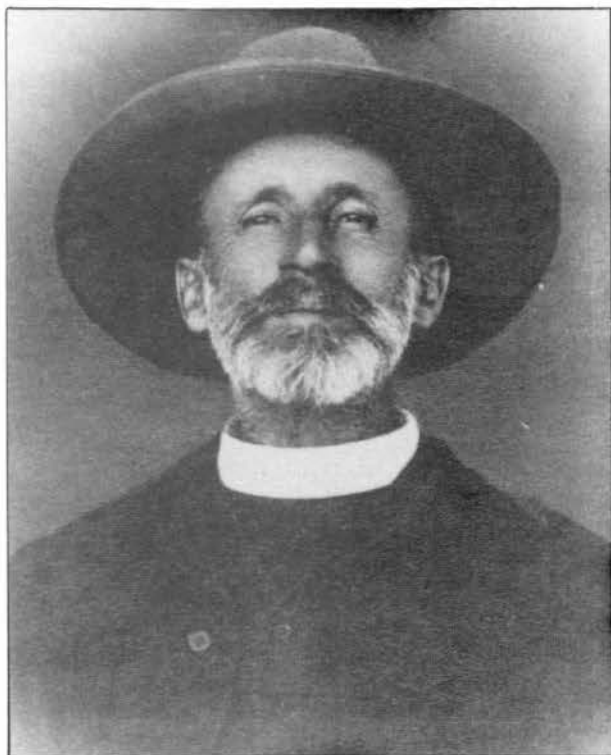
The pioneer missionaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Church were Owen Watkins and Isaac Shimmin. Before departing for Mashonaland, Watkins requested Rhodes for financial support for the Methodist missions in Mashonaland. Rhodes instructed the BSA Company Secretary, Rutherford Harris, to inform Watkins that he was prepared, on behalf of the BSA Company, to contribute a sum of £100 annually for five years for the work of the Methodist Church in Mashonaland.³⁴ Harris also informed Watkins that he might 'confidently count on receiving from Mr Rhodes and the Company, on behalf of the Wesleyan Society... an allotment of land in Mashonaland, as soon as a land settlement in that country is arrived at'.³⁵ Watkins and Shimmin arrived at Fort Salisbury on 29th September, 1891.³⁶

On their arrival, Watkins and Shimmin interviewed Rhodes about grants of land he had promised them. Rhodes honoured his promise and in October, he gave Watkins five stands in the Salisbury township; four stands in the Umtali township; three farms, 3,000 acres each, one in the Umtali district, another in the Salisbury district and a third in Nemaikonde's country north of Salisbury, and a promise in writing that the BSA Company would give the Methodists enough land in every town which might be laid out in Mashonaland and that should they require more land for mission stations, he would give their application 'every favourable consideration'.³⁷

After Watkins left the country, Shimmin, accompanied by the evangelist, Michael Bowen, set off on a tour of Nemaikonde's country to 'peg out' a mission farm. On 15th December, 1891 he established Hartleyton mission station on a farm of 11,528

Fr. Peter Prestage:

founder of Empandeni Mission in
December, 1887 (*Photo: National
Archives of Zimbabwe*)



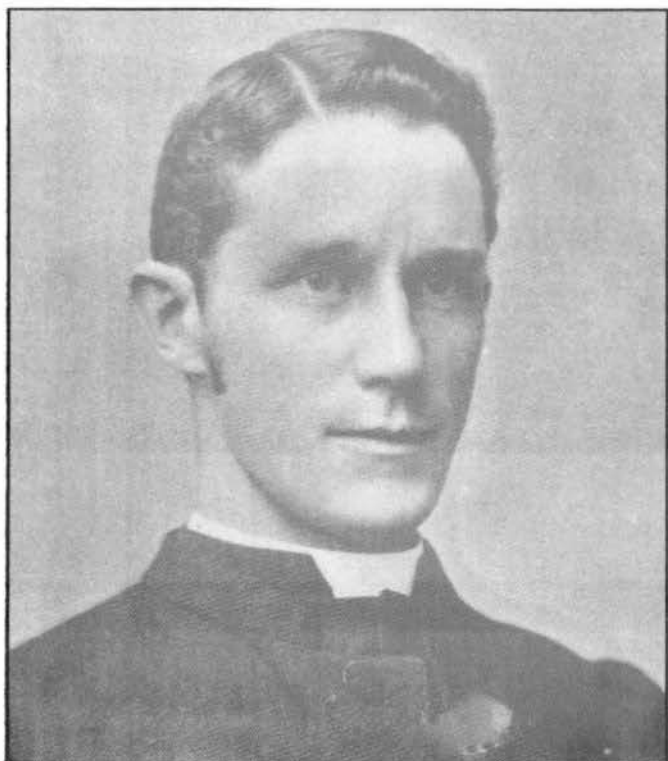
**Bishop G.W.H. Knight-
Bruce:** first Anglican Bishop of
Mashonaland and founder of St
Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga,
in 1891 (*Photo: National Archives
of Zimbabwe*)



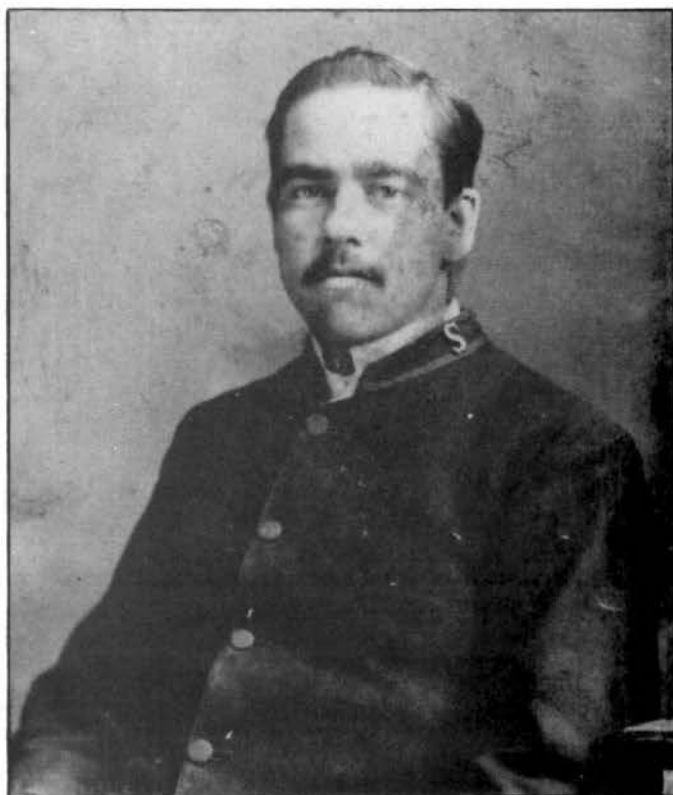
Left: Revd A.A. Louw and Mrs Louw: pioneers of the Dutch Reformed Mission at Morgenster in September, 1891 (*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*)



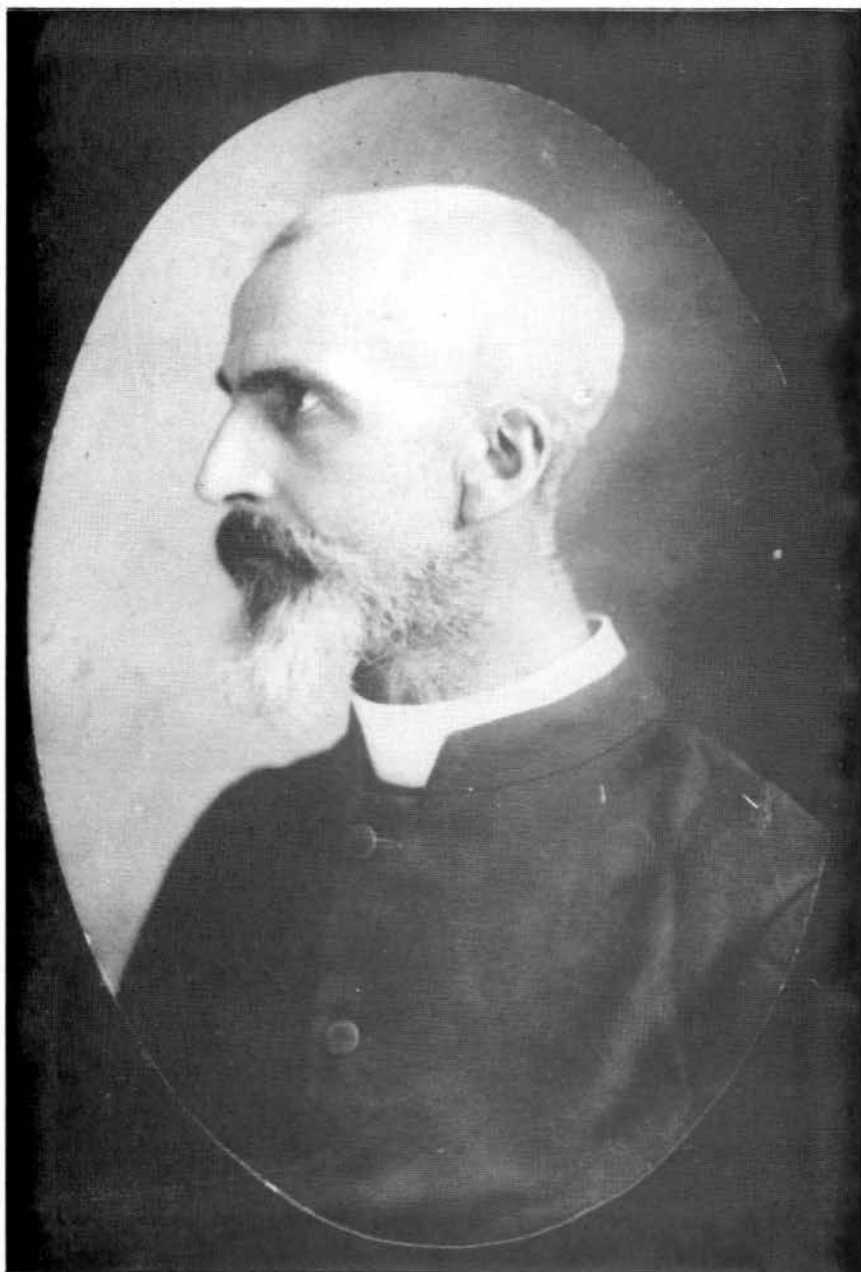
Right: Revd Owen Watkins: One of the two pioneer Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries (*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*)



Revd Isaac Shimmin: one of the two pioneer Wesleyan Methodist missionaries (*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*)



Captain John Pascoe: leader of the pioneer missionaries of the Salvation Army (*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*)



Fr Marc Barthelemy: founder of St George's College, Bulawayo and Jesuit Chaplain to the white troops during the campaign to suppress the Ndebele rising
(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)

acres.³⁸ He hoped to make Hartleyton 'an active centre' from which Christian teachings would radiate 'in all directions among the benighted heathen kraals'.³⁹ In March, 1892 the Wesleyans built their first permanent church in Salisbury.⁴⁰ The Church cost over £300⁴¹ and was opened on Sunday, 5th June 1892.⁴² In May, 1892 Shimmin secured on behalf of his Church, four stands in the township of Fort Victoria.⁴³ In July, 1892 he established Epworth mission station on a farm of nearly 3,000 acres⁴⁴ about eight miles from Salisbury.⁴⁵ During the year, he also founded Nengubo and Kwenda mission stations⁴⁶ consisting of 3,000 acres each.⁴⁷ In August, 1892 a second missionary, the Revd. G.H. Eva, arrived with 8 African evangelists and teachers from the Transvaal and Cape Colony. The evangelists who included Josiah Ramushu, Molimile Molele, Samuel Tutani, Wellington Belisi and James Anta, were immediately deployed at the new mission stations.

Meanwhile, the pioneer missionaries of the Salvation Army consisting of Staff Captain John Pascoe, his wife and their two children and Captains R.H. Scott, D. Crook, E. Mahon, E.T. Cass and Lieutenant T. Seale, arrived at Fort Salisbury on 18th November, 1891.⁴⁸ Dr Jameson granted them a farm of 3,000 acres in the Mazowe valley.⁴⁹ The Salvationists subsequently moved from Pearson farm to Nyachuru where they established Howard Institute.⁵⁰

In April, 1892 five Dominican Sisters from King William's Town accompanied by the Superior of the Zambesi Mission, Fr Henry Schomberg Kerr⁵¹ and two Fathers and Brothers, arrived at Fort Salisbury on 29th July, 1892⁵² to open Chishawasha mission. On 31st July, 1892 Chishawasha mission was founded.⁵³ Fr Kerr arrived from Salisbury and dedicated the Cross on the hill in the centre of the plain.⁵⁴ The site for the farm was selected by Fr Prestage. Frs Francis Richartz and Anthony Boos together with five Lay Brothers - Joseph Löffler, William Biermann, Joseph Lindner, Augustus Book and Henry Meyer - laid the foundation.⁵⁵ The farm which consisted of 12,000 acres,⁵⁶ beautifully surrounded by hills, was given to the Jesuits by the BSA Company in recognition of Fr Alphonse Daignault's service to the Company's sick.⁵⁷

Meanwhile, by the middle of 1892 after several married Catholics and their families had arrived in Salisbury, the Dominican Sisters were asked to open a school for the children. The Salisbury Convent School - the first school for Europeans in Rhodesia - was opened by Mother Patrick on 18th October, 1892.⁵⁸ Ten children showed up on the first day and before the end of the year, the number had increased to twenty.⁵⁹ On 14th November, 1892 four Dominican Sisters left Chishawasha for Salisbury enroute to Victoria where they had been commissioned to take charge of a new hospital.⁶⁰ On 17th November, Fr Kerr accompanied them to Victoria.⁶¹ Meanwhile,

in October 1892 Mother Patrick began to organise a great bazaar in order to raise the funds necessary to expand the hospital in Salisbury. The bazaar which was held early in July, 1893,⁶² netted £420 which, before the end of the year, increased to £700.⁶³

On 19th October, 1893 pioneer missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions consisting of eight Americans, two children, four Zulu evangelists and their families, arrived at Mt. Selinda and established their first mission station.⁶⁴

When the LMS missionaries returned to Matabeleland, they re-occupied Inyati. A new convert, Matambo Ndlovu, a former servant of the missionary, William Sykes, was baptised at Inyati on 23rd October, 1892.⁶⁵ In 1893 Cecil Rhodes gave the LMS missionaries £200 towards the expenses of erecting a new church at Inyati.⁶⁶ The mission was, however, looted by the Ndebele during the Anglo-Ndebele War of 1893.⁶⁷

II

The Anglo-Ndebele War of 1893

Missionary operations were temporarily halted in consequence of the friction between the BSA Company and the Ndebele which eventually led to the war of 1893. The causes of this war and the ensuing campaign which led to the fall of the Ndebele state, have been well studied by Glass⁶⁸ and no further elaboration is necessary except to say that the war was triggered off by the Victoria Incident of 9th July, 1893 when a Ndebele *impi* raided Fort Victoria and massacred Shona inhabitants of the town.⁶⁹ According to Bishop Knight-Bruce, Ndebele raiding of Mashonaland was 'nothing new; it had been going on for years; but never since the coming of the white man, had the Matabele killed Mashonas so openly'.⁷⁰ The Anglican missionary, the Revd. A.D. Sylvester who witnessed the slaughter of the Shona by the Ndebele in Victoria on 9th July, said it was high time that 'this fearful slaughtering be put a stop to, and the Matabele subdued'.⁷¹

Fr Prestage who also witnessed the Ndebele raid on Victoria on 9th July,⁷² had a special interest in the fall of the Ndebele state because of the failure of the Jesuits to make converts among the Ndebele because of the Ndebele system of government. On 23rd December, 1891 he had written to Fr Kerr, 'Our failure at Empandeni was not owing to the unwillingness of the natives to learn and even become Christians, but it was due

to the overwhelming terror, engendered by the pagan system of government...Any native relinquishing the ways of his forefathers, considers that he is branded like a traitor - that he is a marked man, and doomed to be knocked on the head as the cause of ill, should any misfortune attend his family or the town where he is residing. This is the barrier to missionary enterprise in Matabeleland. I foresaw it, before I went to Empandeni; but I always hoped that some would have the grace to break it down. There I was mistaken, and the absence of this supernatural courage in the people, rendered it useless to stop in the country, after its absence had been made sufficiently manifest'.⁷³

In the wake of the Ndebele raid on Victoria on 9th July, Prestage urged the dismantling of the Ndebele kingdom. Referring to the Ndebele raid on Victoria on 9th July, he commented, 'I trust the Matabele kingdom will be smashed up. It was founded upon a basis of injustice - a powerful military organisation set in motion for the self-aggrandisement of the King and his advisers at the expense of the denial and violation of the natural law to his subjects and his tributaries, who were deprived of security of life, security of property and the sanctity of the family. The Matabele system of government was a system of iniquity and devilry...'⁷⁴ When Jameson asked him whether the clergy would approve the chastisement of the Ndebele, Prestage told him that there was just cause for the Company taking up arms against the Ndebele in defence of the Shona who had been 'unjustly and grievously wronged'. When Jameson asked him to telegraph his views to Rhodes, Prestage promptly obliged. In the telegram, he said there was just cause for punishing the Ndebele at once and that without prompt punishment, there was every probability of the same atrocities recurring. He said Jameson was 'delighted at my readiness to back him up. In his humour he said he was glad that the Church gave her blessing to the contemplated punishment'. Prestage commented, 'This is the only satisfactory solution of the matter. No settlement can be durable or satisfactory which fails to insure security of life and property to whites and blacks in Mashonaland'.⁷⁵

On 2nd August, Prestage wrote, 'We must put down the Matabeles and then go on with our work as if nothing had happened'.⁷⁶ In another letter on the same day, he said Victoria was 'pretty quiet. Probably forces will enter Matabeleland from Tuli, Victoria and Salisbury, and smash up Lobengula's infamous rule. The sooner the better'.⁷⁷

Another strong supporter of the Company, was Isaac Shimmin. In July, 1893 he said that missionary progress would be severely handicapped as long as the Ndebele question remained unsettled and that for many reasons it would be better to

commence the struggle at once.⁷⁸ In a letter to Hartley in August, Shimmin argued that to hesitate fighting the Ndebele might mean the wiping out of every white man, woman and child in Mashonaland:

Not to act in the present crisis would deserve the execration of the whole civilised world. It is also our determination to destroy completely the danger that has threatened us ever since we entered the country...Do not think that in speaking like this I am forgetting the teaching of the gospel, for in my opinion a false peace now would be more disastrous to life than war.⁷⁹

In September, Shimmin said most whites including missionaries, supported the impending struggle against the Ndebele. He wrote:

I have spoken with hundreds of men and have heard from everyone the same opinion expressed that the Matabele question must be settled at once and by force. On this point the clergyman and the farmer, the English and the Colonial are at one, and however much we dread the horrors of warfare, in a case of this sort it is the better choice of two evils.⁸⁰

A detailed discussion of the course of this war is beyond the scope of this study. It will suffice to say that the war began on 5th October, 1893 when the British High Commissioner for South Africa, Sir Henry Loch, authorised Jameson to advance into Matabeleland.⁸¹ The combined forces from Salisbury, Victoria and Tuli, marched from Iron Mine Hill on 17th October.⁸² On 24th October, they crossed the Shangani River and on the following day, the Shangani Battle took place and the Ndebele were thoroughly beaten. On 1st November, some 17 miles from Bulawayo, the Bembesi Battle took place and the Ndebele were routed.⁸³ On the same day, Lobengula fled from his capital⁸⁴ having ordered its destruction on the following day. On 4th November, the victorious forces marched into Bulawayo.⁸⁵

Bishop Knight-Bruce who had accompanied the forces and went up to the burning town, commented:

It is all very sad. One's pity for the people in trouble almost makes one forget the iniquity that had its origin here, though for the last twenty years there can scarcely have been a place on earth that has seen more murders... This destruction of his capital is a curious instance of wickedness bringing its own reward, and in an unexpected way. Raiding on all the neighbouring tribes has not only made the Matabele the terror of the country for the last forty years,

but has made the whole of their own race deteriorate by the continued infusion of slave blood; while the King's dread of competitors for the throne has made him kill nearly every dangerous relative, general or chief, till now in his need he has had no great men to lead his troops.⁸⁶

Shimmin did not share Knight-Bruce's sympathy for the defeated Ndebele. In a letter to Hartley on the same day that the victorious forces marched into Bulawayo, he wrote:

Our volunteers have gained several decisive victories and have taken Bulawayo...As you may imagine the good news was received with great satisfaction, everybody congratulating everybody else and a public holiday was given to celebrate the event...The war has been a hindrance...but the conflict had to come and I believe that the wrath of the savage man will yet result in the praise of God. We do not advocate the union of the Rifle and the Bible, but we know the circumstances and feel confident that for all the parties concerned...the war will prove a blessing and not a curse.⁸⁷

Knight-Bruce on the other hand, said he had been very careful throughout the war to make it clear that he was not in any way acting as chaplain to any force, but as Bishop of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. He added, 'I entirely and emphatically repudiate any share in the sentiment that "the sword" is a necessary factor in the Christianising of these savage nations, or that the only road for the preaching of Christianity is cleared by destroying their power; and I here distinctly assert that no letter written or speech made urging on a war with the Matabele has ever had any sympathy from me'.⁸⁸ Although critical of Lobengula and his regime, Knight-Bruce said Lobengula was not altogether without some redeeming quality. 'Brutal though Lobengula has been in the treatment of his own people and the Mashona', he wrote, 'his treatment of white men and of white men's property has been most honourable. A trader tells me that he owes his life to Lobengula...it shows his extraordinary control over his people that, while the Fort Salisbury column was burning nearly every Matabele village on the road till they came near Bulawayo, he was able to keep every trader's house and every Missionary's house untouched. He said he had given his word...In Camp I hear it is being said that Lobengula is giving the white man a lesson in chivalry'.⁸⁹

On 5th November, 1893 Knight-Bruce attempted to mediate between the Company and Lobengula. In an interview with Jameson, he offered to go and talk to Lobengula

because he believed that Lobengula trusted him. But Jameson refused him permission to go on the grounds that although Lobengula would not kill him, he would be killed before he got to him.⁹⁰

With the flight of Lobengula, the Ndebele kingdom effectively came to an end. According to the LMS missionary, W.A. Elliot, the victory of the colonial forces over the Ndebele, was God's work. 'The blood of the murdered Mashona', he said, 'had long cried aloud unto God; now God had spoken'.⁹¹

The LMS missionary, David Carnegie, was optimistic about the prospects for missionary work in Matabeleland in the wake of the fall of the Ndebele state:

We expect great things on our return to our mission station at Hope Fountain...the one great obstacle of fear and dread in the way of our past progress - the club of Lobengula - has been broken in pieces like a potter's vessel. The people now will not point any more to Bulawayo with their fingers as their final argument to silence their tongue from confessing Christ; they will no longer be in fear and dread of that heathen monarch's tyrannical power to crush their ambition, enterprise, and desire for knowledge; they will live in security, being able to hold what belongs to them; to buy ploughs and wagons; to trade, barter, buy and sell; to associate with the white man, to live near him, work for him, and enjoy the fruit of their toil. There will be no more slavery in the land...One man will be as good as another, and Justice will raise her head, and witchcraft, bone-throwing, and cruel, powerful foes will bow their heads and die. A new value will be put upon human life, and no one will be foully and innocently murdered by savage men. A new era will begin in the history of the country, and the people will be free. Their groaning will cease. The righteous judgement of God has come upon them for their past hardness of heart...The current of their thoughts and feelings now will be directed into another channel - that of progress, education, civilisation, and Christianity. Therefore, the future is full of hope and bright prospects. A chance is held out now such as never was before in their history, and many there be who will embrace it, rejoice in it, accept it, and through it become useful neighbours and honourable citizens...The widows's wail and the orphan's cry will also cease, and, instead, we hope to see churches and schools planted all over the land.⁹²

It remained to be seen whether this optimism was justified.

III

The Establishment of Mission Stations in Matabeleland and Mashonaland 1893-1896.

Shimmin welcomed the fall of the Ndebele state because he had long contemplated commencing missionary operations in Matabeleland. The overthrow of the Ndebele state gave him the opportunity he had been waiting for. In fact, while the war was in progress he interviewed Rhodes regarding the projected Methodist missions in Matabeleland once the war ended. He asked him whether he was willing, in the event that the Methodists decided to commence missionary operations in Matabeleland, to give him on behalf of his Society, stands in the townships of Matabeleland for church purposes; farms for mission work and an additional grant of £100 annually for five years. Shimmin later wrote:

To all this he immediately agreed and promised to send me a formal letter...He went on to say that he made this promise willingly and with great pleasure as he regarded mission work as one of the best means for opening up and civilising a country and that he had already received convincing proofs of the good accomplished by the Wesleyan Church in Mashonaland.⁹³

Rhodes honoured his promise and in March, 1894 he instructed the BSA Company Secretary, Rutherford Harris, to inform Shimmin in writing that the Company would grant the Wesleyans for their new mission in Matabeleland, a subsidy of £100 annually for five years and also such land as might be required for mission work and four stands, free, in the new Bulawayo township, or in any townships that might thereafter be established in Matabeleland.⁹⁴

The Wesleyans took up Rhodes' offer. In October, 1894 the Company granted the Wesleyans two building plots in Bulawayo for church purposes.⁹⁵ In addition, in 1895 the Bulawayo Methodist Church Committee purchased a stand near the centre of the town for £900.⁹⁶ On Sunday, 13th October, 1895 the first Methodist church was opened on Ninth Avenue; it cost about £60.⁹⁷ The work at Bulawayo was further strengthened by the arrival of the Revd John W. Stanlake in 1895.⁹⁸

In 1894 Cecil Rhodes granted missionaries of the Seventh Day Adventist Church a farm of 12,000 acres at Solusi.⁹⁹ However, the work was not begun until the pioneer SDA missionaries consisting of Elder and Mrs G.B. Tripp, Mr and Mrs W.H. Anderson and Dr A.S. Carmichael, arrived at Solusi on 25th July, 1895.¹⁰⁰ The BSA Company made further grants; in 1895 it ceded to the LMS a farm of 24,000 acres at Dombodema.¹⁰¹

Meanwhile, the work of the Dominican Nursing Sisters in Salisbury had so impressed Cecil Rhodes that he was anxious that they should go to Bulawayo and take charge of the hospital there. Since none of the Sisters in Salisbury could be spared for the work in Bulawayo, Rhodes arranged with Fr Kerr that some of the Sisters at Macloutsie Hospital should proceed to Bulawayo in the winter of 1894. Four of the Sisters at Macloutsie Hospital - Mother Jacoba and Sisters Francis, Vincent and Frederica - left on 21st June¹⁰² and arrived at Bulawayo on 13th July.¹⁰³ The temporary hospital located in the old township, comprised two huts and several tents pending the completion of a new hospital which was being built in memory of Allan Wilson. The foundation stone had been laid in October, 1894 and on 1st July, 1895 the Sisters and their patients moved to the comfortable new building in the new township.¹⁰⁴ In October, 1895 two teachers - Sister Sebastian Hill and Sister Pancratius - arrived from King William's Town to open a school in Bulawayo. The Jesuit Fathers kindly offered them the use of their chapel as a schoolroom until the Sisters could build a convent school. Ten pupils showed up on the first day the school opened on 28th October, 1895 and by the end of the term, the number had increased to 35.¹⁰⁵ On 2nd December, 1895 Fr. Marc Barthelémy arrived in Bulawayo. On 7th January, 1896 he opened St. George's College for white boys. The first six boys were Leonard and Lancelot Makin, Hubert and William Halder, Edgar Rorke and Otto Cooper. By the end of the month, the number had doubled; by the middle of March, the number had increased to about 30.¹⁰⁶

In the wake of the fall of the Ndebele kingdom, missionaries resumed their operations in Mashonaland.

By the end of 1893 the Wesleyans had 8 catechists; 5 full church members and 870 children in day schools.¹⁰⁷ Early in 1894 the Revd John White arrived in Mashonaland.¹⁰⁸ The Wesleyans also strengthened the work at Hartleyton. In August, 1894 the Revd George H. Eva, accompanied by the evangelist, James Anta, set off on a tour of Nemakonde's country for eight days. They travelled for eighty to ninety miles; talked to thirteen chiefs and urged them to gather their people together at Hartleyton. They agreed and by the middle of August, they were busy building their huts on the mission ground and continuous teaching became easier.¹⁰⁹

In 1895 missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, established their second mission station at Chikore, 18 miles West of Mt. Selinda.¹¹⁰ During the year, the Dutch Reformed Church established its second mission station at Harawe,¹¹¹ East of Morgenster.

Meanwhile, in 1894 Knight-Bruce retired as Anglican Bishop of Mashonaland. William Thomas Gaul - Archdeacon of Kimberley and Griqualand West, Canon of Bloemfontein and Rector of Kimberley - was chosen as his successor.¹¹² He was consecrated Bishop of Mashonaland on St Mark's Day, 1895. The service was held in the Cathedral of Bloemfontein, a Diocese with which he had for many years been connected.¹¹³ On 13th May, 1895 he left Pretoria by coach accompanied by Douglas Pelly. Early in September, 1895 he reached Salisbury.¹¹⁴

Meanwhile, the Jesuits strengthened their work in Mashonaland. In 1894 Fr. Biehler joined the staff of Chishawasha taking charge of the Boys' School.¹¹⁵ On 13th April, 1895 the Jesuits baptised their first two Shona converts at Chishawasha - a schoolboy and a youth of 18 years of age. Both had for a long time been receiving instruction from Fr Boos. They were given the names of Gabriel and Joseph. The *Zambesi Mission Record* commented, 'The event was a consoling one to the Fathers and Brothers, who had now been on the place for nearly three years and had not, up to this, seen a single Mashona publicly made a child of the Church'.¹¹⁶ During the year, they baptised their third Shona convert - a boy who was working for Fr Biehler at Chishawasha.¹¹⁷ Fr Richartz regretted that he and his fellow Jesuits at Chishawasha could not baptise more Shona converts since they lived in their villages and Fr Kerr made it a condition that they should leave their villages to obtain baptism.¹¹⁸ Early in 1896 Fr Richard Sykes¹¹⁹ was appointed Superior of the Zambesi Mission in succession to Fr Henry Schomberg Kerr who had died at Grahamstown in August, 1895.

Summary

In this Chapter, I surveyed missionary enterprise in Zimbabwe from 1890 to 1896. The missionaries made some converts in Matabeleland and Mashonaland during this period. But whatever success they had achieved in God's vineyard, was ruined by the Ndebele and Shona risings of 1896-7 which are the subject of the next Chapter.

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4. Michael Gelfand, (ed.), *Journey to Bulawayo: Letters of Frs. H. Depelchin and C. Croonenbergs, S.J., 1879, 1880, 1881*, (Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1979), pp. 218; 299.
5. *Fr. Peter Prestage* was born in London in 1842; was sent to Mount St. Mary's College in 1849; went to the College at Liege in 1851 and was transferred to Stonyhurst College in 1853. On finishing rhetoric in 1860, he entered the Noviceship of the Society of Jesus at Beaumont. From 1863 to 1866 he went through the usual course in philosophy at St. Mary's Hall Seminary; began his theological studies at St. Bueno's College in 1873; was ordained priest in 1875; began his Tertianship at Tronchiennes in 1876; was sent to South Africa in 1877 and taught for five years at St. Aidan's College in Grahamstown; left St. Aidan's in 1882 and began his missionary life after his Superiors had ordered him to join the staff of the Zambesi Mission. He was stationed at Tati for 18 months and moved to Bulawayo at the beginning of 1884. After labouring in Matabeleland for over two years, he made a short visit to Cape Colony in December, 1886. At the beginning of 1887 he made all the necessary arrangements with his Superiors and returned to Matabeleland in June, 1887 and resumed his missionary labours. 'With characteristic patience and perseverance he stuck to his ...task, until towards the end of 1889, the restlessness of the Matabele, and the political developments then in preparation, made it advisable for Europeans to leave the country for a time'. At Mafeking he was appointed chaplain to the police, with the rank of honorary captain. Acting under orders from Sir Frederick Carrington, he proceeded to Macloutsie with a party of nursing sisters. He arrived at Salisbury in July, 1891 and assisted in the establishment of Chishawasha mission. In 1896 he returned to Empandeni. He died on 6th April, 1907. (Obituary, 'Father Peter Prestage', *Letters and Notices*, 29, 1907-1908, January, 1907, pp. 211-214).
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16. For Fr. Hartmann's background and a brief appraisal of his work in Southern Rhodesia, see W.F. Rea, 'Fr. Andrew Hartmann', *St George's College Chronicle*, 6, 1960-1962, June, 1961, pp. 177-182; W.F. Rea, 'Fr. Andrew Hartmann', *The Shield*, 1966-67, March, 1966, p. 9.
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20. H. St. John T. Evans, *The Church in Southern Rhodesia*, (London, SPG, 1945), p. 10
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23. G.W.H. Knight-Bruce, *Journal of the Mashonaland Mission, 1888-1892*, (London, SPG, 1892), entry for 17 September, 1891, p. 79.
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25. E.W. Smith, op.cit., p. 58.
26. Evans, op. cit., p. 15.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
28. *Mother Patrick Cosgrave* was born at Wexford, Ireland, in 1864; went to South Africa at the age of 17 and joined the Dominican Order at King William's Town in 1881. Passing through the ordinary probation and training of the Order, she went to teach at the Convent School at Potchefstroom in the Transvaal. When it was proposed to send a staff of nursing Sisters to accompany the Pioneer Column, she volunteered for the work, was accepted and at once began, 'with characteristic energy, to organise the first expedition of nuns, who were to act as nurses'. In addition to establishing the first hospital and Convent School in Salisbury in 1891 and 1892 respectively, Mother Patrick and another Sister, took temporary charge of the Hospital in Gwelo at the outbreak of the Ndebele rising in 1896. In 1898 she was awarded

- 'the coveted distinction of the Royal Red Cross'. On 6th January, 1899 she was elected Prioress of all the Dominican Houses in Rhodesia, a post she held until she died on 31st July, 1900. (R.J. Sykes, 'The Late Mother Patrick and the Dominican Sisters in Rhodesia', *ZMR*, 1898-1901, I, 11, January, 1901, pp. 368-9). During the Shona rising of 1896 Mother Patrick also played an important role in nursing the wounded at the Salisbury Hospital. (See A Dominican Sister, *In God's White-Robed Army: The Chronicle of the Dominican Sisters in Rhodesia, 1890-1934*, (Cape Town, Maskew Miller, 1947), pp. 100-101, Letter from Lt. Col. E.A.H. Alderson, Commanding Mashonaland Field Force, to The Administrator, Salisbury, 8/12/1896. The news of the award of the Order of the Royal Red Cross was conveyed to Mother Patrick by Earl Grey. See Michael Gelfand, *Mother Patrick And Her Nursing Sisters*, (Cape Town, Juta and Company, 1964), pp. 256-7, Early Grey to Mother Patrick, 3 May, 1898.
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49. V. Thompson, *Delayed Harvest: a brief record of the first five years of the Salvation Army in Mashonaland, Central Africa*, (Salisbury, private circulation, 1957), p. 22.
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51. *Fr. Henry Schomberg Kerr* was born at Dittisham in Devonshire, England, on 15th August, 1838. He began his education at Winchester but later transferred to Trinity College, Glenalmond, Perth. From there he joined the navy at the age of 13 and served as a midshipman in the Crimea. His early promotion to the rank of commander at the age of 28 gave a promise of a brilliant professional career. At the age of 17 he was converted to the Catholic faith, was baptised at Galashiel on 21st May, 1855 and took his First Communion on 29th May. In 1867 he gave up his naval career and entered the Society of Jesus, joining the Novitiate at Manresa on 7th September. After three years, he studied Philosophy at Stonyhurst Seminary and in 1871 and the following year, was Prefect at Mount St. Mary's, near Chesterfield. During this period he was placed on the retired list of her Majesty's navy, his commission as commander having been dated 16th November, 1866. He was given the rank of retired Captain on 16th November, 1881. From Mount St. Mary's, he went to St. Lueno's College and taking his course of Theology there, was ordained in September, 1875. He served the Church at Garnet Hill, Glasgow and in Manchester. In 1888 he was appointed Superior of the Bournemouth mission. On 4th March, 1891 he sailed from England for South Africa and on 25th March, he was appointed Superior of the Zambesi Mission. (Obituary, 'Father Henry Schomberg Kerr', *Letters and Notices*, 23-24, 1895-98, October, 1895, pp. 270-283).
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104. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 155; Dachs and Rea, op. cit., p. 36.
106. W.F. Rea, *St George's College, Bulawayo-Salisbury, 1896-1971*, p. 7; in an article published in December, 1960, Rea says Fr. Barthelemy opened St. George's College on 13th January, 1896. See W.F. Rea, 'Fr. Marc Barthelemy', *St George's College Chronicle*, 6, 1960-1962, December, 1960, p. 107.
107. WMMS., S/M/S/A, 1889-1899, Mashonaland District Report for 1893.
108. C.F. Andrews, *John White of Mashonaland*, (New York and London, Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1935), p. 15; Findlay and Holdsworth, op. cit., p. 383.
109. WMMS., Corresp., Mashonaland, 1891-99, G.H. Eva to M. Hartley, 13 August, 1894; Findlay and Holdsworth, op. cit., p. 383.
110. D.K. Abbott, 'The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions', in Paul S. King, *Missions in Southern Rhodesia* op. cit., p. 40. Chikore farm consisted of 25,000 acres. Lord, op. cit., p. 93.
111. W.J. Van der Merwe, *The Day Star*, op. cit., p. 28.
112. Evans, op. cit., p. 20.
113. SPG, *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 137.
114. Evans, op. cit., p. 21.
115. 'Chishawasha Revisited', *ZMR*, 1898-1901, I, 6, October, 1899, p. 203.
116. *ZMR*, 1906-1909, III, 34, October, 1906, p. 157.
117. *Letters and Notices*, 23-24, 1895-98, Letter from Father Biehler, 7 November, 1895.
118. *Ibid.*, Letter from Father Richartz, 10 November, 1895.
119. *Fr. Richard Sykes* was born at Hackin Hall, Whalley, in Lancashire, England, on 11 January, 1854. He was educated, first at Mount St. Mary's College, Derbyshire (1867-71), and afterwards at Stonyhurst (1871-74). On 7th September, 1874 he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Rochampton. In 1877 he returned to Stonyhurst to teach in his old college for four years. He spent the years 1881 to 1883 at St. Mary's Hall, close to Stonyhurst studying Philosophy. During the following two years he taught again with 'conspicuous

success' at St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool, and in 1885 he was sent to St. Bueno's College, North Wales, to study Theology. He was ordained there on 25th September, 1887. In 1888 he returned to St. Francis Xavier's College as Prefect General. On 3rd October, 1893 he was appointed to succeed Fr. Thomas Murphy as Rector of St. Francis Xavier's College. Early in 1896 he was appointed Superior of the Zambesi Mission. (Obituary, 'Father Richard Sykes, S.J.,' *ZMR*, VI, 1918-1921, October, 1920, pp. 325-326).

Chapter 2

Christian Missionaries and the Ndebele and Shona Risings, 1896-1897

According to the Jesuit journal, the *Zambezi Mission Record*, the Ndebele rising which broke out in March, 1896 'took the whole white population by surprise. No one, and least of all those who knew the natives most intimately, had apprehended any danger from that quarter. The behaviour of the Matabele nation had been such as to favour the general illusion that the swift success of the British arms in 1893 had stunned it into complete submission'¹. The Shona rising which broke out in June, 1896 was even more surprising to the missionaries and the white population at large. Writing from Salisbury on 30th June, 1896 the Anglican missionary, Archdeacon James Hay Upcher, said that the Shona rising was 'as sudden as it was unexpected. The first news we heard was on Wednesday, the 14th of June, when the murder of two white men, one of whom I knew well was reported some thirty miles or more from here. Next we were horrified at the murder of a Mr Norton, to whom I had been talking on the previous Saturday. He, his wife, baby and nurse were all murdered... It is most extraordinary, to think that the Mashonas, who were afraid of their own shadows, should turn like this; but I fancy the Matabele have something to do with it'². But were these risings really sudden and unexpected? Utilising missionary sources,³ this Chapter examines the causes and effects of the Ndebele and Shona risings against the British South Africa Company's regime. The causes and effects of the two risings must, however, be understood in a wider perspective. We shall begin with the causes of the Ndebele rising.

According to Hugh Marshall Hole, one of the causes of the Ndebele rising was the abuse of power by the Matabeleland Native Police in the recruitment of labour. 'The Matabele', he wrote, 'chafed at the growing demand for their labour at the mines, and still more at the methods adopted to meet it by some of the officials, who used to send their black police into the districts for recruiting purposes. The latter, dressed in a little brief authority, abused their powers and strutted through the villages, ordering the young men to come and work and sometimes compelling them by physical force'.⁴ Professor Ranger argues in a similar vein that one of the causes of the Ndebele rising was the manner in which the Matabeleland Native Police recruited labour and used their position to oppress the Ndebele population.⁵

The *Zambezi Mission Record* also pointed to the use of the Matabeleland Native Police in the recruitment of labour as one of the causes of the Ndebele rising. These

policemen, it said, were 'sometimes even recruited from the *Amahole* class and overbearing, as only slaves who have suddenly become masters can be, were employed by the white man to track the offender and bring him to justice. The dignity of the *Abezansi* had been affronted by the call made upon their young men to contribute their share to the labour required by the agricultural and mining industries, and to work, even for two months only, like the despised *Amahole* and side by side with them. The treatment meted out to both by some of their white masters was not calculated to reconcile them with their lot'.⁶

Another cause of the Ndebele rising was the massive confiscation of Ndebele cattle by officials of the British South Africa Company and individual whites in the wake of the conquest of Matabeleland by the forces of the British South Africa Company in 1893.⁷

According to Sykes the number of Ndebele cattle in 1893 was estimated at a quarter of a million head. The indunas were instructed by the authorities to bring these cattle from various parts of the country to Bulawayo. Some complied with the demand; others did not. To enforce its claim, the Government authorised the different Native Commissioners to collect and send in a certain number of cattle each month according to the size of their respective districts. This system of appropriation was carried on for a period of eleven months. 'The necessarily arbitrary manner in which as a general rule it had to be carried out, the perpetual irritation so engendered, and the thankless task imposed on the Native Commissioners', he said, were 'not calculated to bring about an amicable understanding' between themselves and the Ndebele.⁸ According to Ranger, by the time the re-allocation was completed, only 40,930 out of 250 000 cattle were left in Ndebele hands.⁹

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary, Isaac Shimmin, also pointed to the confiscation of Ndebele cattle as one of the causes of the Ndebele rising.¹⁰

In addition to these grievances, natural disasters in the form of locusts and rinderpest, struck Matabeleland in 1895:

A new kind of locust, more destructive than any ordinary species, and called 'Intete za Makiwa', the white man's locusts, had appeared in swarms, darkening the sky, turning large tracts of veld into barren wastes, and eating up the crops upon which the black population depended for food. Now the rinderpest, a new and unknown disease, was crossing their borders, and already strewing their pastures with the carcasses of their cattle.¹¹

In order to prevent the spread of the rinderpest, Government Veterinary Officers advocated the destruction of all herds of cattle which had been affected by the disease and in the process shot down thousands of healthy cattle including many which had been restored to the Ndebele in 1894. 'Anyone who has had the experience of the peculiar regard in which African natives hold their cattle', Hugh Marshall Hole wrote, 'will appreciate the bitter feelings engendered among the Matabele by this action-well-intentioned, no doubt, but useless for its object-on the part of the Government. It added one more grievance to the mass of troubles which had been accumulating since the occupation, and all of which were attributed to the presence of the British'.¹² The Ndebele regarded the shooting of the newly-restored cattle simply as an act of spite on the part of the white man.¹³

Several factors led to the Shona rising. Firstly, there was widespread use by Company officials of punitive police expeditions against the Shona in settling disputes between white farmers, prospectors and traders on the one hand and the Shona on the other.¹⁴

One such expedition was sent to Lomagundi District in 1894 to punish Chief Mazvimbakupa for the murder of a police trooper called Cooper under mysterious circumstances. After the police had failed to apprehend Mazvimbakupa, they arrived at the Wesleyan Methodist mission at Hartleyton. The missionary in charge, the Revd George H. Eva, was preparing to close the Sunday service when the police arrived. The police arrested seven chiefs and ordered them to accompany them to look for Mazvimbakupa, the murderer of trooper Cooper of the Lomagundi District Police. They were warned that if they attempted to escape, they would be shot. In the event, the chiefs attempted to escape and three of them were shot. Eva swore that these chiefs were 'absolutely innocent of Cooper's death'.¹⁵ Another Wesleyan Methodist missionary, the Revd John White, said that the leader of the expedition instead of being in any way reprimanded, was promoted from Sub-Inspector to Inspector of Police.¹⁶ White blamed the Company for what happened and added that the burning of huts and raping of Shona women in the Lomagundi District by Company officials, were common occurrences.¹⁷

Secondly, the Mashonaland Native Police recruited labour with a great deal of harshness.¹⁸ The Revd John White cited the brutality of the Mashonaland Native Police as one of the causes of the Shona rising. He argued that previously, these fellows were arrant cowards but once given a little authority, they developed into tyrants. The Mashonaland Native Police not only actively oppressed the people but also raped women. The reputation of these representatives of official justice had become so evil that their arrival at a kraal 'was the occasion of the worst alarms'.¹⁹

Thirdly, there was widespread opposition to the hut tax. Few Shona paramounts, according to Ranger, 'recognised the right of the Company administration to demand tribute from them or accepted the argument that they were under the Company's protection'.²⁰ For the paramounts, the demand for tax 'came as the last in a series of grievances and led them to plan open and general armed resistance'.²¹ The Revd John White also pointed to the unjust manner in which the hut tax was collected as one of the causes of the Shona rising. In collecting this tax, he said, no attempt was made to levy the charge equitably. This had the tendency to make the Shona discontented and the hut tax hated. He did not advocate the abolition of the hut tax; he thought, however, that some just and less repulsive method of collecting the hut tax should have been devised.²²

Shimmin also cited Shona grievances over the hut tax and the general mistreatment of the people by Company officials:

There is no doubt that in many cases the native felt he had no rights whatever, and that even a rude justice was denied him. The majority of white men in the country are good fellows.... But there is a small section of the community who have taken the law into their own hands and whose treatment of the native is to be strongly condemned. The Company should have taken steps to punish these men when they were found in the wrong. But when the most flagrant cases were brought to their notice, they only moved with the greatest reluctance.... An inquiry into a native outrage often became a public scandal owing to the manner in which it was conducted. On these points I have abundant evidence. I have protested against the native policy of the Chartered Company for nearly five years, and in my opinion, and in the opinion of a large number of people, the incapacity and misgovernment of the Company had a great deal to do with the rebellion.²³

From all the available evidence, the Revd. John White was absolutely convinced that the Shona rising was a direct result of Shona oppression by Company officials.²⁴ In addition to these grievances, natural disasters in the form of locusts and rinderpest, struck Mashonaland in 1895. On 30th January, 1896 Fr. F. Richartz wrote from Chishawasha, 'We are struggling at present against a severe famine, brought about by the ravages of the locusts.... The native crops are already partly destroyed by the young locusts.... During this year they are far more numerous, and there is no doubt a severe famine is to be expected. Our natives begin already to starve'.²⁵ In March, the rinderpest which had for some time been raging across the Zambezi and in

Matabeleland, reached Salisbury and the neighbouring areas.²⁶ Towards the end of April, the locusts were causing great damage everywhere.²⁷ At the beginning of May the rinderpest reached Chishawasha; the Government forbade the local people from eating meat from the cattle which had died of the disease.²⁸ On 20th May, Fr Richartz said the rinderpest had already killed between four and five thousand head of cattle in and around Salisbury and was raging tremendously.²⁹ The Shona associated these disasters with the coming of the white settlers.

According to Selous, the Ndebele rising began on 23 March, 1896 when the rebels killed seven white men at Elkins' trading store near Essexvale. Among the murdered men was the Native Commissioner, Mr Bentley, who was shot or stabbed from behind while writing in his hut. Mr Elkins and three other white men were killed in and around the store while Messrs. Ivers and Ottens were killed, the former near the Celtic mining camp, and the latter about half-way between the camp and the store, a distance of about one and half miles. Almost simultaneously with the murders at Elkins' store, the rebels killed the Cunningham family who were living on a farm near the Insiza River. On the same day a few miles from the Cunninghams' farm, the rebels killed Mr Thomas Maddocks, the Manager of the Nellie Reef Mine.³⁰ The Ndebele rising spread very rapidly.

By the beginning of April, according to the *Zambezi Mission Record*, the rebel leaders had gathered their forces and were preparing to close in on Bulawayo. Had the rebels 'pressed speedily forward and combined to deliver a general attack, or at least to invest the little fortress closely on every side,' it stated, 'the consequences for the beleaguered inhabitants might have been serious in the extreme. It was fortunate, however, that at such a critical moment no leader appeared amongst the rebels with sufficient ability to take in the situation at a glance, or powerful enough to assume the supreme command and impose an intelligent plan of concerted action upon the numerous hordes into which the fighting men of the nation were divided'.³¹

On 12th April, 1896 the Jesuit missionary, Fr Andrew Hartmann, and two Dominican Sisters accompanied Colonel Beal's Column which left Salisbury for Bulawayo to suppress the Ndebele rising.³² It was Fr Marc Barthelemy,³³ however, who was officially gazetted as the overall Jesuit Chaplain to all the troops operating in Matabeleland. In spite of the slow movement of Ndebele *impis* besieging Bulawayo, the *Zambezi Mission Record* stated, 'it became more and more evident, as the month of April wore off, that the zone within which the people of Bulawayo could venture with safety, even in the daytime was gradually narrowing'.³⁴

According to the *Zambezi Mission Record*, the Ndebele military leaders made two mistakes in the early days of the rising. Firstly, they neglected to block the southern route - the road from Bulawayo south-east to Tati and the regions beyond. This was a 'fatal error of judgement for it allowed the settlers to communicate with Bechuanaland and the Cape, and it was over that very road that, in the early days of May, Colonel Plumer hurried with reinforcements and supplies to the relief of the hard-pressed population'. Secondly, they disregarded caution and patience. It added:

Perhaps they could no longer bide the hour of their final triumph-so anxiously looked forward to, so much delayed...perhaps their feelings had been wrought to such a pitch of excitement that they were unable to bear the strain any longer. In any case, it is certain that the first act of revolt was premature, and preceded by about a week the date on which the nation was to rise as a single man and exterminate the white intruder.³⁵

In a letter to the Overseas Secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in London, the Revd Marshall Hartley, on 29th April, 1896, the Revd George H. Eva advocated the suppression of the Ndebele rising with an iron hand:

In the last war the Matebele were not beaten, the only real victory was at Bembesi, the first Shangani battle was more or less a draw and the second was a decided defeat for our forces which were totally inadequate to cope with them, so that the Matebele had never been thoroughly beaten by the White man and until we give them a thrashing we may expect periodical outbreaks such as this and many of us will lose our lives.³⁶

Another Wesleyan Methodist Missionary, the Revd. J.W. Stanlake was of the same opinion. On 19 May, 1896 he wrote to Hartley:

The Matebele have of course brought this war upon themselves but they have been hardly dealt with, and now the only way to put down the rising is by the help of the sword or our lives will be in great danger; force is the only power they have any respect for.³⁷

To say that the Ndebele brought this war upon themselves, is manifestly absurd. From our study, the causes of the Ndebele rising are clear enough. At any rate, the failure of the Ndebele to capture Bulawayo during the first few months, was probably the turning point of the Ndebele rising; Shimmin certainly thought so. On 18 May, 1896 he wrote to Hartley:

Had the Matebele combined for a united attack on Bulawayo in the early days of the rebellion, the consequences would have been disastrous, now, however, we are reinforced on every side and the issue of the struggle means certain victory for the white man.³⁸

Fr. Bartholomey accompanied the troops during the campaign to suppress the Ndebele rising. In April, he accompanied Captain George Brand's patrol to the Gwanda District and was with them when they ran the gauntlet through the rebel *impis* on the Tuli Road. At Taba Zi Ka Mambo he assisted in carrying the wounded into camp and comforted the dying.³⁹ He also served with Colonel Plumer's Column in the Matopos.⁴⁰

The Anglican Missionary, the Revd. Douglas Pelly, also ministered to the troops during the campaign to suppress the Ndebele rising. Early in April, 1896 Pelly was appointed Anglican Chaplain to the troops which left Salisbury for Bulawayo to suppress the Ndebele rising.⁴¹

On 19th April, Pelly and the troops reached Fort Charter; they found nearly all the troops from Makoni's district waiting to join them. Pelly wrote, 'I got a very warm welcome from them, which made me glad I had come'.⁴² On 23rd April, they reached Enkeldoorn where a large Dutch community was in laager; over 80 of them were sick; there had been many deaths because there was no doctor, no medicine and no one with energy enough to get help.⁴³ 'On the 30th', Pelly wrote, 'we had our first fight, though we on the wagons heard little and saw nothing. The scouts had gone on ahead, and suddenly came in touch with two or three thousand of the enemy, who tried to cut them off. However, they galloped clear, and were soon reinforced by the mounted men, and a fight was made - the natives being driven away after a time, with a loss of 25 to 30 killed. None of our fellows were touched'. On 1st May, they headed for Gwelo and on the following day they laagered two miles from the town.⁴⁴

On Sunday, 3rd May, Pelly had a ten-minute church parade under a big tree.⁴⁵ Two days later, they moved close to Gwelo to prepare for an expedition to Moveene, 15 miles away, reported to be the rebels' headquarters.⁴⁶ They started on 8th May and in the evening camped 10 miles from Moveene.⁴⁷ Next day they trekked on, and laagered in sight of Moveene kraal. 'The mounted men,' Pelly wrote, 'had gone on in front, and as soon as we laagered, got on to a rise, and opened fire. We in laager could see the roofs of the kraal and also our own men, but not the enemy.... However, in half an hour the kraal was burning, and several others which were near, but the enemy had got away into the thick bush at the back. Again none of us were touched;

but the natives suffered, though the bush was too thick to say to what extent'. Next morning, Pelly got up from hospital to bury a couple of whites who had been killed by the rebels; 'they were a nasty sight'. 'Next day', Pelly wrote, 'we began to trek back to Gwelo, but had not gone far when we came in touch with the enemy; the scouts and mounted men engaged and chased them, killing about 50. Again none of ours were touched though the enemy's fire was hot'. On 12th May, they got back to Gwelo where preparations were underway to start for Bulawayo.⁴⁸

Pelly and the troops started for Bulawayo on 14th May.⁴⁹ They trekked till the 18th when they reached the Shangani River. In the morning on 19th May, Pelly buried a white man who had been killed by the rebels. Later in the day they joined the Bulawayo Column and laagered close to them. On 22nd May they trekked a short distance; the patrols, Pelly wrote, had 'hot fighting the whole day, and the slaughter was great. We lost two killed and three wounded, and two horses killed'. They trekked through 'horribly thick country, and a dangerous place to work in'.⁵⁰ The following morning, they trekked a short distance; Pelly buried two white men who had been killed the previous day and portions of the Ross and Fourie families.⁵¹ On 29th May they passed through 'awful country, but happily were not attacked'.⁵² Two days later, they crossed the Mzingwani River. Pelly wrote, 'It is almost impossible to understand, without having seen, how tremendous is the damage the Matebele have done. Outside the towns literally everything belonging to whites is destroyed - farms, hotels, mines - everything'.⁵³ On 3rd June two long treks brought them 10 miles from Bulawayo. Two days later they moved to within four miles of the town.⁵⁴ On 6th June, they had a very lively day. Pelly wrote, 'Early in the morning news was brought that the enemy were in force two miles from us, and that men were coming out to help us from Bulawayo. The mounted men started, and we followed shortly after with footmen and wagons. Our mounted men were joined by the Bulawayo force, and the fight began at once. It was a big *impi*, but they quickly turned tail, and our fellows followed them till the horses could go no further. About 200 Matebele were killed, with only three wounded on our side'.⁵⁵ The following day after the Sunday service, Pelly rode into Bulawayo without any mishap.⁵⁶ On 19th June, he heard the 'dreadful news' of the Shona rising.⁵⁷ Two days later, Pelly and the troops left Bulawayo for Salisbury.⁵⁸

On 29th June, they reached Gwelo;⁵⁹ on 6th July they reached Enkeldoorn where the rebels had killed 9 white men.⁶⁰ The following day Pelly spent a long time with a dying man in hospital.⁶¹ On 11th July, they pushed on to Charter and found a *laager* with 50 folk.⁶² They left Charter the following day;⁶³ reached Hunyani River, 12 miles from Salisbury on 16th July; the following day they reached Salisbury.⁶⁴

By September, 1896 the Ndebele concluded that outright victory over the Whites was no longer possible and wanted a negotiated settlement. Rhodes, too, was ready to negotiate because a long drawn-out war would not only be expensive but would also result in great loss of life for the Company forces. Both sides were, therefore, willing to negotiate. In September, the first of several indabas between Rhodes and Ndebele military leaders began.

The advocates of a military solution who wanted to fight to the finish were disappointed that Rhodes was willing to negotiate before the Ndebele were thoroughly crushed. Typical was George Eva. On 1st October 1896, he wrote to Hartley from Bulawayo:

We have no faith in the negotiations that are being made; it looks too much like the white man capitulating to the savage, for the Matebele have not yet been thoroughly thrashed. War is a horrible thing especially in these parts and with savages, but when the thing has been taken up, it should be carried through to the bitter end, for anything like mercy or leniency is interpreted by them as cowardice or weakness, and in their own minds they consider that they have conquered us and not that we have conquered them.⁶⁵

The beginnings of negotiations did not, of course, mean an immediate cessation of hostilities. On 10th October, 1896 the Jesuit missionary, Fr. Peter Prestage, wrote from Empangeni:

The war is commonly said to be over. I think it would be more accurate to say, there is for the present a cessation of hostilities. As there was no complete surrender of arms at the termination of the first war, so, I venture to say, there will be none now. Blunderbusses and old Tower muskets may be given up, but not modern arms of precision. Natives value these too highly, and, besides, have unlimited means of concealing them, so that they can baffle all search. They love their country too dearly to let it slip through their hands. Not until they have been thoroughly subdued in several decisive battles, which has not been the case so far, will they renounce their claim to Matabeleland.⁶⁶

Rhodes, however, was determined to end the Ndebele rising. He held further indabas with Ndebele military leaders which ended the Ndebele rising by December 1896.

The Shona rising began on the 15th of June 1896. On 17th June, Shimmin wrote to Hartley:

We have just heard that the Mashonas are very disaffected and have murdered several white men but I think the reports are exaggerated and the trouble is local. However, we shall take good care of ourselves and avoid unnecessary risks.⁶⁷

Shimmin did not realise that it was the beginning of a general rising through most of Mashonaland. He subsequently gave a detailed account of the Shona rising.

When the Shona rising broke out, Shimmin was travelling from Victoria to Charter by ox-wagon but owing to sickness among the oxen, the journey took twelve days instead of seven. The Revd John White met him at Charter and the two travelled together to Salisbury. They reached Salisbury on Sunday, 14th June and planned to visit Lomagundi district. He wrote:

We afterwards found that whilst we had been quietly tramping alongside the donkey cart containing our baggage, the rebellion had actually broken out and several cruel murders had been committed not very far from the road. Had we been a day or two later, nothing would have saved us, for the Colonial boys at the different stables were soon afterwards killed, and we should have walked unsuspectingly into a trap. On the other hand, had the oxen not suffered from rinderpest on the road from Victoria we should have been at Salisbury five days earlier, and thus would have got to Lomagundi at the worst time. Very few escaped from that district alive. And further, had I remained at Victoria, Mr White would have continued to work at Nengubo's instead of coming to meet me, and as all the white men in that locality, as well as our own native teacher, were surprised and killed, I hardly think he would have escaped.⁶⁸

Shimmin and White had planned to leave Salisbury for Lomagundi on Thursday, 18th June. But on Wednesday afternoon, 17th June, Shimmin wrote, 'there were so many unpleasant rumours flying about that we thought it best to wait. That very night the alarm became so acute that a company of volunteer pickets was promptly organised, and we all took part in guarding the town. We expected an attack and were very thankful when day-light came to relieve our anxiety'. The next morning (Thursday, 18th June), a public meeting was held at the Market Hall, and although summoned at short notice, 'nearly every male inhabitant of Salisbury was present ...

We all realised that we were face to face with a great danger for which we were totally unprepared. Many blamed the government for sending men down to Bulawayo, thus weakening Mashonaland, but the fact is, nobody ever dreamt that the despised Mashonas would combine to rise'.⁶⁹

Shimmin has left us a graphic description of the situation in Salisbury on Friday afternoon, 19th June:

In the afternoon the excitement came to a climax when a report spread that the Mashonas were advancing on the town. Then began a marvelous stampede; people rushed from all quarters to the laager situated near the centre of the town. This was really the large new gaol transformed into a fort and adapted to the requirements of the emergency. I never saw such unanimity of sentiments before; men, women, and children were all filled with a burning desire to go to prison in the shortest possible time. The scene baffled description. Outside were wagons and carts being unloaded, people rushing hither and thither, hospital patients being carried in on stretchers, men shouting, dogs barking, and everyone contributing to the prevailing confusion. But inside the yard the chaos was even worse, and the crowding and noise and heat will not soon be forgotten. But in a few hours the women and children were settled in the large room, those specially fortunate found themselves in the cells from which the prisoners had been turned, and the men arranged their rugs and blankets in the open yard. Food was a scarce commodity, and that night sleep was almost an impossibility. Every hour was precious, and therefore defensive preparations continued, the noise of the hammer and the saw being accompanied by the howling of innumerable dogs. In a day or two, however, everything got into working order; food rations were equal to the demand; tents and various shelters were erected to keep off the heavy dew, and very quickly we became accustomed to our new home. Although we had not been attacked, we realised the necessity for being prepared. One troop occupied the yard and three other troops, with the Natal contingent, were quartered outside the laager, behind a fortification of sandbags and an arrangement of barbed wire, and the whole fort was well protected by Maxim and other quick-firing guns. The friendly natives and town boys were accommodated in a large compound with sheds, about 300 yards from our laager. As martial law had been proclaimed, every man had to take some part in the defence. Mr Stanlake was appointed to the Commissariat. Mr White joined the ambulance staff ... and I was made Wesleyan Garrison Chaplain.⁷⁰

According to Shimmin, the rescue of white settlers in Mazoe stood out as one of 'the most heroic events in connection with the rebellion'. He wrote from Salisbury:

When the first news of the rising came into town it was soon known that over a dozen people at the Alice Mine, twenty-seven miles north of Salisbury, were in a state of siege and very hard pressed. Soon after the public meeting Captain Judson and a few men were sent out to their assistance. A wagonette had already gone out to bring in ... three women. Later reports showed their position was desperate, and on Friday night (26th June) another patrol of a dozen men left for the same place. The following day, when the men were on afternoon parade, one of the patrols rode in.. and reported that the Mazoe party was quite surrounded by the Mashonas, and there was very little hope of their fighting through... As may be imagined, the news caused intense excitement, especially among the wives of the men in danger. Things looked very black, and many of the troopers wished to go out to the fight, but the authorities said they could not spare the large number required... Between nine and ten (in the morning on Sunday, 28th June) we heard a shout and a burst of cheering outside the laager, and we all scrambled without delay to the platforms on the walls, and then we saw that the Mazoe patrol had really fought their way through. The old wagonette, with its battered sides, and the wounded men being carefully carried down helped us to realise what they had come through. Men shouted and cheered most frantically, but others found the tears not far away. It was a grand welcome, and they deserved it. Most of the horses had either been wounded or killed, and we knew that some of our friends lay dead out in the Mazoe Valley, but we did not know the full extent of our loss until we heard the wonderful story. It was late that night before we got to sleep, for we had much to talk about.⁷¹

The Shona rising, as stated before, began on 15th June 1896. 'For some days before this date', the *Zambezi Mission Record* tells us,

the community at Chishawasha had been repeatedly told by the school boys that the men were sharpening their assegais and knives with the intention of killing the whites; but in the full belief that rebellion was the last thing which this cowardly people would dream of, both Fathers and Brothers had laughed at the warnings, and set them down as the exaggerated reports of the children. It was, however, noticed that for a fortnight before the general rising, the little store at the Mission Station owned by Messrs

Philippi and Company, was daily besieged by natives, all eager to purchase for grain everything that could be bought. Further, it had been remarked that the people had been in an unusual hurry to thresh and carry in their grain; but no importance was attributed to this.

On the same day, Fr Boos returned to Chishawasha. On his arrival, all the chiefs and headmen, together with a large following of people, came and gave him what was apparently the 'warmest of welcomes'. 'This incident', the *Zambezi Mission Record* commented, 'shows the depths of treachery of which these natives are capable, for at this very time they were meditating the massacre of all the Fathers and Brothers within the next day or two. It was on this very day, too, that the Norton family and many other whites, living around Salisbury, were murdered'.⁷²

On 18th June, Brother Alphonsus Kury left Salisbury and arrived at Chishawasha with the 'sad news' of the Shona rising. The Government ordered the missionaries to return to Salisbury. After consultations, the missionaries decided to seek government permission to remain at the mission and to defend themselves there should the need arise. 'Knowing too well the cowardly nature and history of the natives around us', Fr Richartz later explained, 'we could not possibly fear the rising'.⁷³ Richartz's contempt for the Shona, as we have seen, was widely shared among his fellow Jesuits at Chishawasha; it was also widely shared among the white population at large. Missionaries and the white population generally, were largely ignorant of the Shona past. They were unaware, for example, of the achievements of the Mutapa and Rozvi empires which the Shona had established in Zimbabwe before the 19th Century which we now know thanks to the research of modern scholars.⁷⁴ As events were later to prove, this was a costly mistake. 'We had underrated the Mashona', the Native Commissioner for Murehwa, "Wiri" Edwards, later wrote. 'We knew nothing of their past history, who they were, or where they came from, and although many of the Native Commissioners had a working knowledge of their language, none really understood the people or could follow their line of thought'.⁷⁵ At any rate, once the conflagration began, the Shona rising spread very rapidly.

According to the *Zambezi Mission Record*, on Saturday, 20th June, as there was no news from Salisbury, Fr Biehler volunteered to ride into town to fetch ammunition. He left at eight in the morning, promising to be back between three and four in the afternoon. On his way to town, he met a few rebels, but they allowed him to go on his way unmolested, in fact they appeared to be quite friendly. 'The Father was completely deceived by their attitude, and little dreamt how narrow an escape he had. He would most certainly have been murdered on the road had not the natives planned

to kill the whole (Chishawasha) community together. They let him pass unhurt, only because they intended to kill him with the others, when he got back to Chishawasha'. On arriving in Salisbury, Biehler was 'greatly surprised to find the whole population in laager, and to learn that the rebellion had begun in real earnest, and that Salisbury might be attacked at any moment. It being absolutely important that ammunition should reach Chishawasha without delay, he immediately went to Major MacGlasham, the officer in command of the town forces, and asked for a supply. He received 500 rounds, and with these, and accompanied by Lieutenant Guepratte (who gallantly offered himself to assist the Chishawasha community in their hour of need), and also by Brs Kury and Puff, he set out on his way back to the Mission Station, arriving there at five o'clock. The party were watched by natives all along the road, and were only spared because, as has been said, the natives planned to massacre all the whites together at Chishawasha. To this fortunate circumstance alone they owed their lives under God'. Meanwhile, the community at Chishawasha was most anxious about Fr. Biehler. As he had not returned by 4.30 p.m., they feared he had met with mishap, and began to think that 'after all things were really serious'. Father Richartz at once sent the schoolboys to their homes, and ordered the Brothers to get the waggon ready, intending to make a dash for Salisbury. 'Had they gone off that evening, not one of them would have reached the town alive'. When they were about ready to start, they beheld, 'to their great joy', Fr. Biehler and his three companions riding down the hillside. The party at Chishawasha 'now numbered sixteen armed men - three Fathers, five Brothers, four men from Enterprise Mine, Lieutenant Guepratte, two native policemen, and Leo, a faithful Christian native of Bechuanaland, who was a capital shot - and they felt confident of being able to hold their own against any native force which might come to attack them'.⁷⁶

On Sunday 21st June, there was great anxiety and uncertainty at Chishawasha. Nearly all the workmen had disappeared; the previous day many parents withdrew their children from school. Some chiefs, 'feigning ignorance' came to speak to the missionaries but none came for religious instruction. After Mass, some rebels were seen running through the mission. The mission boys killed two of them.⁷⁷

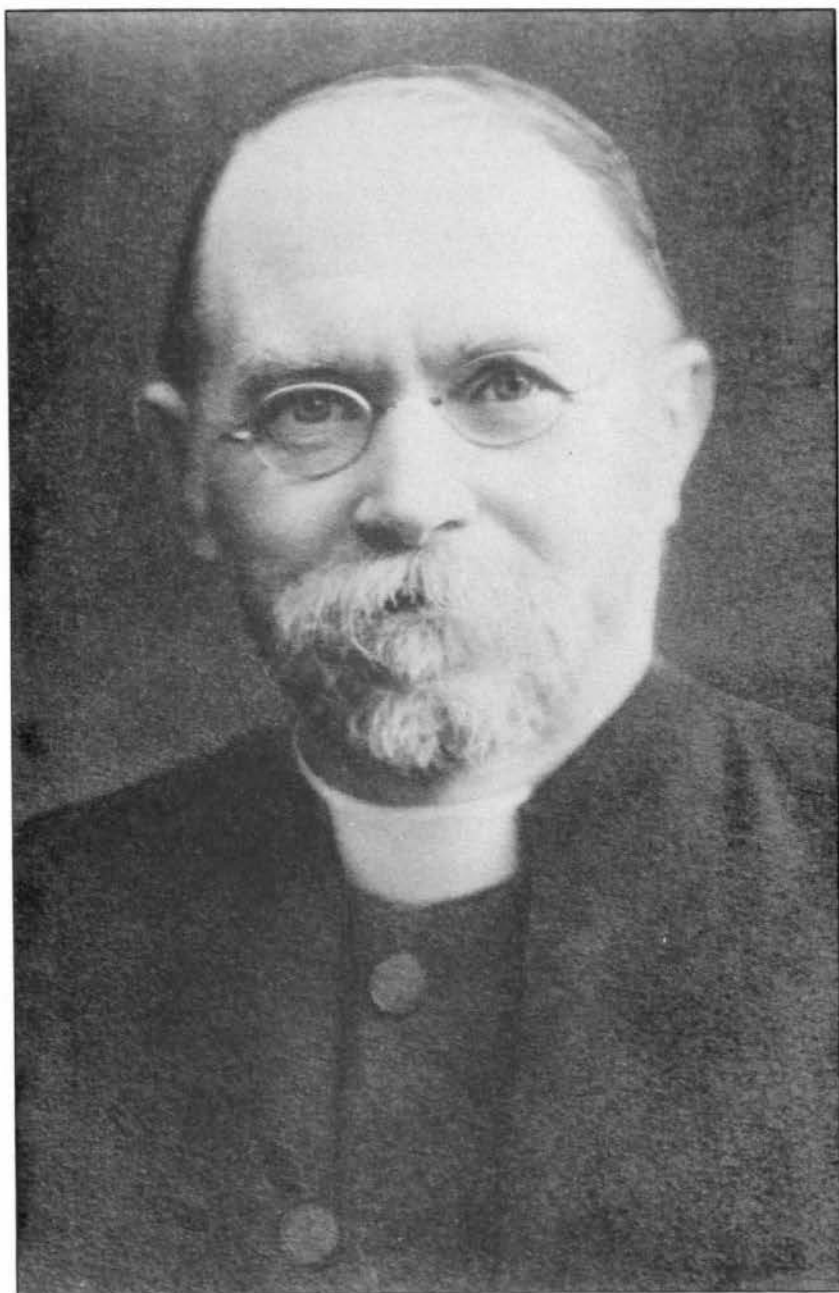
After two of the intruders had been killed, 'a redoubtable little chief, by the name Chikichi, appeared, accompanied by a man of very evil repute. They talked in most friendly manner with Father Richartz, but the boy Leo, who was doubtful about their intentions, kept close by, ready to use his rifle at a moment's notice. It was well for the Father that he did so, for these two scoundrels had come expressly to murder him. Seeing a suspicious movement, Leo ordered Chikichi to unfold his blanket. On his obeying, it was seen that he had a dagger in his hand ready to strike. Both natives were at once ordered to leave the premises'.⁷⁸

On Monday morning, 22nd June, Br Kury set off for Salisbury with two boys; the rebels held him up and one boy was killed. At the same time, the residents of Chishawasha attacked the mission, seized some cattle, got into the mission house through the windows and fired on the occupants with 'all sorts of ammunition, even metal bullets'. The defenders replied and killed three and wounded six others. When the attackers stopped firing, three of the defenders wanted to go out to attack them. They realised that the fort was poorly supplied with water and could be cut off altogether; they prepared for death and made their confessions. Suddenly five cavalymen appeared hotly pursued by the rebels who were gathering on the central hill. The rebels did not attack the mission again. Thanking God, the defenders returned to the mission house where little damage had been done other than the breaking of windows.⁷⁹

The following day the missionaries fortified the mission house and kept watch by night.⁸⁰ In the morning on 25th June, 50 soldiers on horseback armed with machine guns, arrived at Chishawasha to take the missionaries to Salisbury. The rebels attacked them on the way but they got safely to town where they enrolled in the Army.⁸¹ Fr Biehler was appointed trooper to help with picketing especially during the night.⁸² In addition, he and Fr A. Lebouer⁸³ volunteered to help the wounded and started an ambulance service.⁸⁴ On 26th July, the missionaries requested the Government for permission to return to Chishawasha under armed guard. The Government agreed and allowed them to return.⁸⁵ The following day all the missionaries with the exception of Fr Boos, returned to Chishawasha. The soldiers with Fr Biehler, visited some of the nearby villages which were now deserted.⁸⁶ On 30th July, Fr Boos also returned to Chishawasha. 'So it came about, as we had fervently hoped', the Chishawasha Diary recorded, 'that by a special favour of the Lord, the whole community was once again gathered together for the 4th anniversary of our arrival'.⁸⁷

Fr Biehler ministered to the troops during the campaign to suppress the Shona rising. On 11th July, 1896 he accompanied a patrol of 50 men led by Mr Duncan to Abercorn, 80 miles from Salisbury to rescue eight white men who were besieged by the rebels. They started in the evening and travelled all night; the following day, the rebels attacked them three times but only once at close quarters. There were no casualties among the troops whilst the rebels lost a dozen men. They destroyed a kraal on the way, arrived at Abercorn on Monday morning and reached the besieged men. Fr Biehler wrote,

It was quite a sight to see those men, imprisoned for twenty-three days in an open laager, not more than nine square yards, made with mealies and



Revd John White: a critic of the BSA Company's maladministration of Mashonaland which led to the Shona Rising (*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*)



Revd Douglas Pelly: Anglican Chaplain to the white troops during the campaign to suppress the Ndebele and Shona Risings (*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*)



Nehanda and Kagubi: two of the leaders of the Shona Rising (*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*)



Fr Francis Richartz: frequent visitor to leaders of the Shona Rising — Nehanda, Kagubi, Mashonganyika and others — in the Salisbury prison before their execution (*Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe*)

flour sacks and other stuff, like whisky-boxes, tins They were a mile from the water, watched day and night by Mashonas, who built forts on the four sides of the valley to prevent them from escaping. They had food enough, but no water; in fact, they were washing themselves with whisky. Three of the men were wounded, two very sick and one was lying dead at four yards from the little laager One of their black servants died whilst I took off his old bandage.... I buried two.... Unhappily one of the sick men died; it was my third burial.

Fr Biehler then described the return journey to Salisbury.

On Thursday we got rather hungry ... we took a native kraal by surprise, and captured all the cattle (some forty heads), with some hundred goats and pigs. At three p.m. we started again, driving the captured cattle in front of us. Whilst the rear-guard burnt the kraals, the natives fired upon us, but they were too far off. We crossed the long Mazoe valley (seventeen miles long) on Friday night. We had arrived almost at the end of the valley, when we were noticed by the Mashonas. As it was dark and cold, their firing was not straight. They killed one cow, wounded another, and a man got a bullet through his hat. The firing lasted an hour in very late darkness. It was daylight when we arrived at Mount Hampden (twelve miles from Salisbury). There the natives had another try, but we turned the maxim on them. We reached Salisbury towards one p.m. amidst loud cheers. We were in a fine state, not having had a wash for a whole week.⁸⁸

Shortly after this patrol returned, Colonel Beal's Column arrived from Bulawayo and proceeded to Chishawasha to punish the rebels; Fr Biehler accompanied the Column as guide. 'In one morning', he tells us, 'we burnt over two hundred huts, and arrived at the farm without a man wounded. The Column remained for a week at the farm, sending out patrols all round... I had to remain there to help for several weeks, and assisted in keeping the hills around us clear from natives, and also directed the patrols in getting the grain from the different kraals for the supply of Salisbury. We sent in a thousand bags of grain at least'.⁸⁹ When the Imperial troops arrived at the beginning of September, 1896, Fr Biehler was appointed Military Chaplain of the Irish Regiment. From that time until the day they left (middle of December), he accompanied them on every patrol.⁹⁰

Pelly also accompanied the troops during the campaign to suppress the Shona rising. On 22nd July, 1896 he left Salisbury with the troops which had been ordered to clear out the Chishawasha district.⁹¹ At daybreak on the following day, they reached the first village; the mounted troops 'at once went away to the attack, and were followed by the footmen and armed natives. They were soon engaged and the fight lasted till 2p.m., when about 18 kraals were burnt. We had three wounded on our side - all slightly'.⁹² On 28th July, they left at daybreak for Rymer's Farm four miles from Chishawasha. 'Just before out-spanning', he wrote, 'a volley was fired at us by a party of natives, who were posted on the hill. A small party of mounted men went off to follow them up, and caught a party of 11, at the end of 10 miles, and killed them all'.⁹³ 'The native detachment', he wrote on 29th July 1896, 'returned early as we were starting - they followed the natives to two caves, and cleared one out, but could not tackle the other. They burnt all the kraals we did not, so this district is quite empty. One village burnt yesterday had over 300 kraals. We trekked to within four miles of town, and rested while the Hospital wagon took in the wounded'.⁹⁴ On 30th July they were joined by Captain Biscoe who had been with the patrol to Hartley Hills.⁹⁵ On the following day they trekked to five miles East of Brescoe's Farm, where the rebels were supposed to be in force and expected a fight, but 'literally found no one'. The owner, Brescoe, and his friend, Curteis, had been killed nearby but they could not find their bodies.⁹⁶

On 11th August, 1896 Pelly accompanied the troops to Alice Mine in Mazoe. Their object, he said, was to clear the Mazoe district where a number of murders had taken place. They passed the bodies of whites and blacks on the way. 'We found', he wrote, 'a huge hole in the ground, made by the natives, in hopes, we fancy, that we should pass through at night, get stopped, and so give them a fine chance to fight to their own advantage'.⁹⁷ On 13th August, they started early; the rebels fired on them as soon as they got to a hill.

After a while, it was decided to storm the place, and our men and the native contingent started away, whilst we moved off to meet them the other side of the range. We were again fired at - at a short distance - and three horses were hit. In the end the whole place was taken, kraals burnt, and cattle captured. One cave had to be left, chiefly filled with women and children, in an impregnable position; one of our boys was hit in the arm, a white man in the head and face⁹⁸.

On 14th August, they started early for Cemanda Hill and found the rebels in full force. They shelled the hill, and under cover of gunfire, the troops advanced, stormed the



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place and burnt the villages.⁹⁹ The next day Pelly buried Routledge and Blakeston, the two men who had been killed whilst wiring Salisbury for help.¹⁰⁰ On 16th August, a wagon left for Salisbury with the wounded. An hour or two after it left, the Natal Contingent engaged the rebels.¹⁰¹ They spent the next day building a fort and at night Pelly buried four more men who had been killed in the district.¹⁰² On 18th August, they started early and reached the Salvation Army farm, picking up on the way the body of a white man whom Pelly buried before they proceeded.¹⁰³ The following day, they reached Salisbury by 10 a.m.¹⁰⁴

The British South Africa Company for financial reasons assured its stockholders that the Shona rising would end soon. In a letter to Hartley on 28th August, 1896 Stanlake disputed this claim:

The Mashona Rebellion is by no means over; in fact it is not going too far to say provided the food of the Mashonas holds out, it will need a force of 5,000 men to crush them, and the loss of life on our side would be heavy.¹⁰⁵

By September 1896 the Shona had suffered serious defeats but continued to fight. 'The Mashonas', John White wrote to Hartley on 30 September, 'have surprised everybody. That they should have risen at all is a big wonder, but that they should fight with such determination after the reverses they have had is even a bigger surprise'.¹⁰⁶ This is a curious statement coming from John White considering that he had been one of the foremost critics of the British South Africa Company's maladministration of Mashonaland which had led to the Shona rising. At all events, that the Shona continued to fight, was corroborated by the *Zambesi Mission Record*. 'It is astonishing', it stated, 'that the Mashonas still went on fighting after having heard that the redoubtable Matabeles, so far from having exterminated the whites, had been forced to come to terms with their conquerors, but so it was'.¹⁰⁷

That the Shona were formidable opponents, was emphasised by Fr Bichler on 11th November, 1896:

People at home think little of this Mashona War, and yet it will cost more men and money than the Matebele War, as well as more trouble and anxiety. The future is still dark, and there is no sign of the end yet, far from it. There is no question of open fight. The Mashonas are seated among their rocks, like baboons, and wait for the first occasion to attack - they see us, but we do not see them.¹⁰⁸

On 1st February, 1897 Fr Biehler emphasised the same point:

People at home have looked upon the Mashona rising with a kind of contempt. But I can safely say, this rising has cost and will cost more lives and more money, and bring with it many more sad consequences, than the Matebele War. Well, for the last six months I have been almost everywhere there was a fight, and yet, how many Mashonas have I seen? Sometimes not a single one in a whole day's fight. Most of the time one fires at smoke and rocks; Mashonas are like baboons in their rocks - impossible to get hold of them. I remember only two fights at close quarters, and then it was high grass and bush.... Officially, the war is said to be at an end; but practically, the country is by no means settled. We had two fights only last week.¹⁰⁹

Stanlake shared this view. On 2nd December, 1896 he wrote Hartley from Salisbury:

We are supposed to be at 'peace' with the natives.... Personally I fail to see in what way we are at peace. No one can go six miles off the main road without being fired on from behind rocks.... In some cases, they are afraid to lay down their arms as from experience of the past the word of the white man cannot be trusted.¹¹⁰

This was confirmed by Fr F. Richartz. On 3rd January, 1897, he wrote from Chishawasha, 'We are still in the anxieties of war, though the natives don't fight at present. They cannot, however, be trusted for a moment, and make no secret of their intention to start fighting as soon as their crops are in, and as soon as occasion offers itself. That is not a pleasant state of affairs'.¹¹¹

On 9th January, 1897 the Revd John White wrote to Hartley from Salisbury:

Many of the reports you may read about the country being peaceful are false. The Chartered Company for financial reasons would like the outside world to believe this is the case. During the last fortnight the rebels have been coming into town during the night and stealing cattle quite close to the houses. The majority of them refuse to lay down their arms.... From what I can gather from the natives themselves they are very tired of fighting and only refuse the Government's offer of clemency because they do not trust their word. Whatever may be the case the fact remains that people have no confidence in this so-called peace.¹¹²

The war soon resumed and the Shona turned to guerilla warfare which was aptly described by the *Zambesi Mission Record*:

Knowing well that they had no chance of success were they to meet their foes in fair and open fight, they decided on a species of guerilla warfare. Their policy was to weary out the whites, by assembling and running away, and so they would unite together in some mountain fastness, honeycombed with caves; and when dislodged from this, would disperse in all directions soon afterwards to meet in a distant stronghold from which they could only be driven with much difficulty. And so this fighting and running away went on.¹¹³

By the beginning of March, 1897 Mashonaland was still unsettled and according to the Anglican missionary, the Revd H. Foster, 'its probable immediate future quite uncertain'. He added, 'The natives have in no case yet surrendered in Mashonaland and their attitude is one of calm, almost contemptuous defiance. At every "indaba"...they have defied us to do our worst, and have declared their unwillingness to have anything to do with us; in some cases they have expressed their determination to drive us from the country'.¹¹⁴

By March 1897 the military authorities concluded that the quickest way to suppress the Shona rising was to starve the Shona into submission. In a letter to Hartley on 7th March, 1897 Stanlake said the authorities were going round the countryside burning down the standing crop of maize. He added:

There is every reason to believe that the natives themselves are tired of the whole business...but they do not trust the white man.... We are of the opinion that if they could only be convinced that every clemency will be shown them, then to a man they would surrender unreservedly. But it will be a difficult matter to convince them of this fact. The men sent to parley with them are not likely to bring out the desired effect; they know these men by past experience and do not trust them.¹¹⁵

As a result, the war continued. 'The war in Mashonaland', Fr Leboeuf wrote from Salisbury on 29th March, 1897, 'is far from being over; desultory fighting takes place wherever troops are sent. The roads may become unsafe any day and traffic intercepted, at least for a time. No one can foresee the end of this state of things. The Mashonas do not seem disposed yet to give in'.¹¹⁶ This was corroborated by Fr Richartz. Writing from Salisbury on 30th March, 1897, he stated, 'We still have war in Mashonaland, and fighting is going on even in our neighbourhood'.¹¹⁷

The military authorities responded by dynamiting Shona strongholds. But this did not make the Shona submit. Stanlake was convinced that diplomacy would be more effective than dynamite. 'The positions which the rebels hold', he wrote to Hartley on 7th March, 1897, 'are practically impregnable, and cannot be taken without great loss of life'.¹¹⁸ Neither did the burning down of Shona crops make the Shona submit. In April, 1897 John White decided to mediate as he feared that a protracted war would result in great loss of life. Moreover from the conversations he had had with some of the rebel chiefs, he was convinced that they were very tired of fighting and wanted to sue for peace but did not trust the Government. He was sure that if the Government would give him a free hand in negotiating with the rebels, he would get them out of their caves.¹¹⁹

Meanwhile the Shona continued to fight. 'To every one's surprise', Revd Foster wrote on 16th June, 1897, 'the Mashona tribes are making a most dogged resistance, and they appear conscious of the strength of their position'.¹²⁰

After they failed to starve the Shona into submission, the military authorities resumed the dynamiting of Shona strongholds.¹²¹ In August, 1897 John White tried again to mediate. This time he successfully persuaded Nengubo's people to surrender to the Government. The Chishawasha missionaries also mediated between the Government and the rebels. As a result of these efforts, on 6th September, 1897 some rebels from the Jesuit mission at Makumbe, arrived at Chishawasha to talk of peace.¹²² Nine days later, rebels from Makumbe and Chigore arrived at Chishawasha to hand in their weapons and sue for peace.¹²³ On 30th September, other rebels arrived at Chishawasha also to talk of peace.¹²⁴ On 11th October, more men from Makumbe handed in their weapons.¹²⁵ Finally, on 29th October, some Shona women who had been detained at Chishawasha, were released and went home.¹²⁶

The results of the Shona rising on Methodist missions, the Revd John White wrote in April, 1897, were disastrous. 'Two of our devoted native evangelists, Molimile Molele and James Anta, have suffered death at the hands of the rebels; John Moketsi, the driver of my travelling wagon, one of Khama's young men, an earnest local preacher, was murdered.... Truly 1896 has been a dark and disastrous year in the history of our mission'.¹²⁷

According to Isaac Shimmin, James Anta was 'one of the finest teachers we had, of splendid physique, a noted hunter, and a most popular man in every way. Being the son of a chief in Cape Colony, he had much natural dignity, and yet was of such happy temperament that he soon became a most successful worker for Christ. He had been in the country since 1891, and was going to the Transvaal to get married after we had finished our big journey to the North'.¹²⁸

The circumstances surrounding Anta's death at Hartleyton, were narrated by the Revd J.W Stanlake. Anta had been holding a week-day service in the church at which the chief of Anta's village was present. After the service, the chief returned to the village while Anta remained conversing with young people as they sat around a camp fire. All at once they were surrounded by the rebels who fired a volley into the party, shooting Anta in the back, and one of the girls through the foot. All of them managed to get into their village. After some time had elapsed, one of the girls went to the place where Anta was shot and found him dead. 'Such', Stanlake wrote, 'is the simple story. He died in the midst of his work, a brave man and a true missionary of the Cross. He has left behind him a memory which will be cherished for many years among the heathen'.¹²⁹ According to Isaac Shimmin,

two other teachers, Hogana and Mogale, were missing for more than a month, and we had all given them up. Their stations were down in Gambisa's country, one of the most dangerous parts of Mashonaland. We had heard of the murder of the white men of that district, and when week after week passed without any sign from the two missing men, our hearts were very heavy, for we feared the worst. You can therefore imagine our delight when we got a wire from Charter saying that they had escaped, but were...going back with some white men to try and rescue Mrs Mogale, who must have been left in some place of refuge.¹³⁰

The most celebrated martyr of the Shona rising among the Methodists was Molimile Molele who was killed at Nengubo mission.

Molimile Molele, according to Isaac Shimmin, was

one of our most successful evangelists, and though well advanced in years he was wonderfully active and energetic. He came up from Good Hope with the first lot of teachers in 1892, and the following year he was stationed at Nengubo's. I introduced him to the chief and people, and explained fully the object of our mission, and although they understood our purpose very imperfectly, yet nothing could have been more satisfactory than their welcome. He at once became a great favourite; the children came willingly to school, and both among the young and old his influence was healthy and beneficial. The following year his wife came up from the Transvaal, and greatly added to his usefulness, for she taught the women and children how to live and dress like the natives at Good Hope. The eldest daughter was also a great help in the school. Molele believed in

practical Christianity, and by precept and example showed the Mashonas the joys and blessings of the Gospel of Christ. He built a comfortable dwelling house, and laid out a large garden, and thus by striking object lessons he tried to induce them to build better homes and live on a higher scale of civilisation.¹³¹

It was three weeks after the outbreak of the Shona rising that Shimmin heard definite news of Molele's death. Early one morning the teachers in Salisbury came across Mrs Molele and her two children, almost dead with fatigue and hunger. They had just managed to reach Salisbury and were in a sad plight. Shimmin and John White at once brought them medicine, food and proper clothing and after a few days' rest, Mrs Molele told Shimmin her 'sad yet wonderful story'.¹³²

From her story, Shimmin was able to piece together the circumstances surrounding Molele's death. On Friday, 19th June, 1896 Molele got a note from the teachers at Epworth, telling him of the 'unsettled state of the country around Salisbury, although when the message was written there was no suspicion of a general rising. On the following day he made a small laager not far from his house, although even then he could not have thought that the situation was serious. He noticed, however, that Nengubo's heathen brothers had arrived with a lot of strangers, and he suspected that Nengubo and his friends were likely to join the enemy. They assured him, however, that they would remain faithful to their teacher, but some of them had gone back to the heathen mode of dress because the Mashona witch-doctors had commanded it'. On Sunday 21st June, Molele was told that the Shona had killed Mr James White, a farmer living about three miles away and a great friend of Molele. 'He at once decided to go over and investigate the matter, although his wife tried to dissuade him, for the natives had already threatened to take his life, and if he had anything to do with a white man it would probably exasperate them. But he was determined and off he set'.

He found Mr White very badly wounded and quite helpless. Another white man in the house, who had been suffering from fever, had been killed outright. 'As the natives had stolen all the oxen from the place Molele at first hardly knew what to do, although he was determined, if possible, to save his wounded friend'. So he returned to Nengubo and got a couple of his own oxen for Mr James White had a small cart. His wife again warned him of the risk he was taking but failed to dissuade him. When he got to the farm he inspanned the cart, and with the assistance of a boy, carefully lifted the wounded man into the cart and set off homewards.

Mrs Molele said that on that Sunday she was standing near the church anxiously waiting for her husband's return and at last saw him coming with the ox-cart. When he was about two hundred yards from where she was standing, four Shona rebels ran down towards him and killed him as well as the man in the cart. The rebels killed one of her three children. She and her remaining two children hid for a week and lived on pumpkins from their garden. They then decided to go to Salisbury. Although Salisbury was only 40 miles away or two days' walk, it took them seven days and eight nights. The first three days they lived on some vegetables they had brought but after that they had no food whatever. They hid during the day and travelled only at night. They lost their way and wandered very much until they saw the telegraph wire and by following it, they finally reached Salisbury safely.¹³³

Other churches also suffered. Captain Edward Cass, a Salvation Army missionary, was killed in Mazoe.¹³⁴ The Church of England gained its most celebrated martyr, Bernard Mizeki.

The life of Bernard Mizeki as well as his martyrdom in the Shona rising of 1896, have been told in great detail by Jean Farrant¹³⁵ and no further elaboration is necessary except to say that he arrived in Mashonaland from Cape Town with Bishop G.W.H. Knight-Bruce in May, 1891. Shortly after their arrival, the Bishop put him in charge of a mission station near Chief Mangwende's village. Gradually, Bernard gained considerable influence over the people, chiefs, white settlers in the district and Mangwende himself.¹³⁶ He was a constant companion of Douglas Pelly on visits to various villages. 'As a companion', Pelly tells us, 'he was charming, and many a long walk has he made bright with his interesting talk of native customs, thoughts and legends'.¹³⁷ According to Lilian Knight-Bruce, Bernard's great skill in learning languages, and as an interpreter, made him 'a most valuable helper'.¹³⁸ In 1894 Bernard and his most promising pupil, John Kapuya, and the Zulu catechist, Frank Ziqubu, assisted Bishop Knight-Bruce in translating parts of the Bible, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Creed, into Shona.¹³⁹ On 7th March, 1896, the anniversary of his baptism, Bernard married Mutwa, Mangwende's granddaughter.¹⁴⁰

Early in June, 1896 the Revd Herbert Foster heard rumours that disturbed him; he feared that any Africans who were associated with Europeans, would be killed. Accordingly, on 14th June, he sent a messenger to tell Bernard, the catechists and teachers to leave at once for the mission farm at Penhalonga. The messenger said Frank Ziqubu and John Kapuya, had left the day before. After agonising over the warning, Bernard wrote to Foster to the effect that he had decided to remain at his post.¹⁴¹ On 18th June, 1896 three rebels arrived at the mission and killed him.

Much later, Bernard's widow, Mutwa, gave Pelly the 'true details' of Bernard's death. Very early one morning, when it was still dark, someone knocked at the door of the hut in which she and Bernard were sleeping. She thought something must be wrong, as it was so early, and told Bernard to get out through another door and hide in the hills while she found out what the men outside wanted. But Bernard was sleepy, and told her to let them in. So she opened the door and three men came in. Two were sons and one a nephew of Chief Mangwende. They first said they were cold; so Mutwa made a fire. Then suddenly they caught hold of Bernard, and one struck him over the head with an axe and stunned him. They then dragged him outside the hut and stabbed him with a spear and left him for dead. They then rushed off to kill the catechumens, who, however, had heard the noise, and had fled and hidden in the hills. Meanwhile, Bernard became conscious, and crawled away and hid under a rock, and his murderers, confident that he was dead, did not bother to search for him very thoroughly, but satisfied themselves by taking Mutwa with them. She escaped each night for five nights and accompanied by one of the catechumens, whom she found hiding near the mission, she washed and fed her dying husband. When she returned on the fifth night, she found that Bernard was dead. In November, 1896 her baby girl was born. She subsequently escaped with her baby to the Anglican mission at Rusape. The first two or three days, she was completely without food and expected at any moment to be re-captured.¹⁴²

Farrant doubts the veracity of this account and other accounts extant of Bernard's death. She argues that many of these accounts were received by the early clergy between 1897 and 1902 after they had been passed from one person to another. 'During the remaining months of 1896', she writes, 'conditions were chaotic throughout the country, and all transport and normal travelling came to an end...news of Bernard's death and the manner of it, did not reach people like Upcher and Douglas Pelly for some time. Even then, months passed before they were able to visit the old station at Mangwende's, or find any of the people who had been present'. 'The stories written down by the early clergy, which have since been embroidered and have grown into legends', she argues, 'differ to such an extent that they have all been discarded. Nearly all of these stories tell how Mutwa was made a "prisoner" by the murderers and taken back to Mahopo (Mangwende's mountain), how she escaped four nights running and tended her husband in a secret cave above the mission where he lay hidden. She fed him and dressed his wound. On the fifth night she was followed and Bernard was killed'. 'The story of Mutwa's heroic nightly journey', she adds, 'is highly improbable...it is incredible that a young Mashona woman, as she was then, about twenty years of age, should have climbed down the steep sides of Mount Mahopo in the darkness and alone, in a time of fighting and violence, and should then have crossed the valley, a distance of about two miles, with food for her

husband'.¹⁴³ She says the basic facts are that Bernard was attacked by three men and left for dead. He found his way to a spring and was discovered by Mutwa and a woman companion. They left him to prepare porridge and when they returned, they did not find him.¹⁴⁴ All accounts of Bernard's death, however, agree that he was killed on 18th June, 1896. His death was a great loss to the Anglican Church in Mashonaland.¹⁴⁵

The Shona rising also had disastrous effects on Chishawasha. The Shona rising, the Jesuit missionary, Fr Richard Sykes reported, had put back the work at Chishawasha for years:

Before the insurrection broke out, about a thousand natives gathered on the Farm, which, when the Fathers first came, in 1892, had literally not a village upon it. Now all these have been scattered to the winds, and mistrust and suspicion engendered. It was hard for the community at Chishawasha to be attacked, and to see their cattle driven off before their eyes, by the natives on the farm, who owed so much to their care and a considerate kindness manifested in a thousand ways, at a thousand different times.¹⁴⁶

It is clear from the above that the Chishawasha missionaries were completely mistaken in their earlier view that 'rebellion was the last thing' which the 'cowardly' Shona 'would dream of'.

In Matebeleland, the mission stations of the London Missionary Society-Inyati, Hope Fountain and Bulilima - were completely destroyed during the Ndebele rising.¹⁴⁷

The Ndebele and Shona risings were followed by a great famine consequent upon the devastation of large areas of Matebeleland and Mashonaland during the fighting. Let us consider the effects of the famine in some detail, beginning with Matebeleland.

The effects of the famine at Empandeni and in the neighbourhood of the mission, were described in a series of letters by Fr Peter Prestage. On 27th September, 1896 he wrote:

Famine is in an acute stage here. There have been two deaths from starvation. In search of food, many of our people have gone to the neighbourhood of the high-road to the interior where they are satiating themselves with diseased meat of rinderpest cattle in different stages of decomposition. Some are even boiling down the skins, to get something to eat. It was only yesterday that a man came to me for a skin of a sesibe for that purpose. I am giving the people all the help I can, but with mealies at

£13 per bag, and mealie meal at £15 I can do but little. I am negotiating with Earl Grey to get some mealies from the Government...for nearly a month I have, three or four times a week, boiled a cauldron of soup for distribution to the worst cases of distress. Diarrhoea is common among the people, owing to the wretched food they are eating.¹⁴⁸

On 10th October, 1896 he wrote, 'The natives here are living on wild herbs and the skins of oxen, long since slaughtered, which after two days' boiling, make at best a most nauseous dish. Two of our natives have already died of starvation. I fear several others must die, for they are terribly emaciated, and crawl about almost bearing the image of grim death on their woeful countenances'.¹⁴⁹ On 30th November, 1896 he wrote, 'Natives are dying in the veldt from sheer starvation'.¹⁵⁰ On 7th January, 1897 he wrote,

During the second period of our residing at Empandeni, now a period of a little over a year, we have baptized twenty-four persons, ten of whom died shortly after baptism. Death was brought on in each case by starvation... We shall be glad indeed when the famine is over. None but those living in contact with famine-stricken persons can imagine what terrible sufferings are endured. To read of pain undergone by others, and to witness human beings undergoing pain, are vastly different things. The one strikes the imagination, the other goes to the heart.¹⁵¹

On 18th March, 1897 Prestage said he had baptized 144 people of whom 45 died shortly after baptism. He added,

We do not as yet know with accuracy the number of deaths from starvation among those residing on our property, from the fact that many left their homes and wandered over the veldt in search of wild plants, roots and berries.... I shall not be far wrong in saying the number of actual deaths is between 65 and 70.... The deficit in food was made up by the natives consuming rinderpest cattle in a high state of decomposition, dead horses, mules, and donkeys, together with wild herbs, roots and berries. This unwholesome food brought on dysentery and diarrhoea, which have been common forms of sickness among the natives throughout the whole country during the famine.¹⁵²

The effect of the famine at Hope Fountain and in the neighbourhood of the mission, was described by the Rev W.A. Elliot of the London Missionary Society:

The worst result of the fighting, was the suffering entailed on non-combatants, chiefly women and children. They were reduced to the most pitiable straits of hunger; and while the rebels in the Matopo Hills were comparatively well off, the loyalists and those who had "come in" were starving. They ate baboons' flesh, they ground and cooked the skins of cattle dead of rinderpest; parents sold their children, that the children might be fed and themselves saved. Nearly two hundred starving folk were fed for months at Hope Fountain, and many more at the other stations; mainly at the expense of the Government.¹⁵³

Virgil Robinson and the SDA pioneer missionaries, I.B. Burton and W.H. Anderson, gave an equally grim picture of the effects of the famine at Solusi Mission. Robinson wrote:

The poor people wandered far and near, searching for practically non-existent food. The condition of the children was especially pitiful. Parents brought their little ones to the missionaries, asking permission to leave them there because they could not bear to see them starve. By the time the famine was over, there were thirty children under the care of the missionaries, and separate housing had been built for them...As the famine increased in severity, so did the number of victims who crowded around the European homes, pleading for food. The workers found it extremely difficult to eat their meals when every time they looked up they saw hungry eyes in the pinched faces of starving men and women staring at them through the windows...¹⁵⁴

Burton wrote:

Everyone suffered. I have seen the natives hunting for roots and bulbs and eating different plants that at other times they would never dream of touching. I have seen them gather old bones and pound them up into powder, cook them with some greens such as leaves and herbs, and eat the mixture. When my cattle died through the rinderpest plague...I had good many of them skinned and these skins were put into trees near to my huts. I had been away for a few days one time and on my return, I noticed that the skins had all gone. I found that the hungry people had taken them and cut them up with axes and then pounded the little bits of hide on stones and cooked them and ate them. Poor people! Every bit of raw hide they could find was consumed.¹⁵⁵

W.H. Anderson wrote:

The suffering of the natives made us heartsick. Imagine if you can, fifteen or twenty persons coming to your door daily begging for food. Many of these natives were so thin in flesh that they staggered as they walked; yet we were compelled to say to them, 'We have no food for you'...We could hardly go five yards from the mission station without finding the dead body of some native who had starved to death. Along the rivers and at the watering places on the way to town, we would find fifteen to twenty dead bodies devoured by vultures or jackals, as there was no one to bury them...After the war, there were large areas in Matebeleland where all the children between the ages of three and fifteen years died of starvation or of diseases that came in the wake of that uprising.¹⁵⁶

The wretchedness of the former residents of Chishawasha was described by the Jesuit priest, Fr A. Boos. 'Driven from retreat to retreat; deprived of all means of subsistence save the wild roots and berries they might find, they returned worn-out, famished, and a prey to infectious disease'.¹⁵⁷

Furthermore, at the conclusion of the hostilities, according to the *Zambezi Mission Record*, the condition of the white settlers in Rhodesia was 'a sorry one'. 'The cattle throughout the country had been swept away by the rinderpest, which meant that the principal means of transport had been cut off; the mines were nearly all wrecked; crops had not been sown; provisions of all kinds were at famine prices. The immediate outlook was gloomy in the extreme'.¹⁵⁸

The leaders of the Ndebele and Shona risings - Kagubi, Nehanda, Mashonganyika and lesser-known figures, were executed while others were sentenced to long prison terms. Fortunately, we have an eye-witness account of their fate from Fr Richartz.

According to Fr Richartz, Kagubi, 'the leader of the Mashona rebels and the instigator of the Mashona rising was sentenced to death for the murder or rather for ordering the murder of a native who had been employed by white men'. With him were Nehanda, the most famous heroine of Mazoe and eleven others.

On several occasions prior to their execution, Richartz visited the prisoners in their cells and spoke to them of their approaching death, exhorting them to listen to his instructions and 'make a good end'. 'All of them hoped against hope till the last that

they would regain their liberty, or that at least their sentence would be commuted to penal servitude'. 'During the first days', he tells us, 'I used to instruct all the condemned prisoners together except Kagubi and Nehanda, who were kept separated from the others. The other eleven prisoners seemed to like what I told them, but Kagubi refused to listen to me. As soon as I began to speak about religious subjects, he would say, "Go to the others; I refuse"'. Kagubi attempted to bribe Richartz to secure his freedom. 'He promised me ten herd of cattle... if only I would get his sentence changed.'. On Monday, 25th April, 1898 Richartz returned. As Dziribi, Kagubi's daughter, a pupil at Chishawasha, wanted to see her father before his death, Richartz asked for permission for her from the Acting Magistrate and called her to town on Tuesday, 26th April. She arrived in the afternoon with her sister, Likande. Richartz went with them and a Christian boy, Victor, to the prison and talked with Kagubi who had given him in the morning, some hope of changing his mind. 'The conversation with Kagubi, during which Victor and Dziribi did their best to induce him to yield to my instructions and receive baptism, had the good result that Kagubi promised to do as they asked; and when the children had gone and I talked with him alone, he assented and even asked me to promise him that he should not die without having been instructed and baptized by me'. The gaoler had asked Richartz in the morning to inform the four prisoners, Kagubi, Nehanda, Mashonganyika and Muzampi, who were to be executed the following morning that their time had come. Richartz said Kagubi 'showed fear and began to cry'. Mashonganyika and Muzampi took the news 'quietly'. He did not talk with Nehanda until evening 'in order to avoid a scene'. When he saw her again in the evening at about 6 o'clock in the presence of Victor, who 'tried his best to persuade her to listen to me' and told her she would die the following morning, 'she began to behave like a mad woman'. 'She took her blankets and wished to leave the cell, and when told to remain and keep quiet, she refused and said she never would endure to be locked up. When we saw that nothing could be done with her I went away with Victor, and Nehanda began to dance, to laugh and talk, so that the warders were obliged to tie her hands and watch her continually, as she threatened to kill herself'. On Wednesday, 27th April, Richartz tried again to speak with Nehanda, and...

bring her to a better frame of mind, but she refused, called for her people and wanted to go back to her own country - Mazoc - and die there, and behaved as she had done the night before. When I saw that nothing could be done with her, the time for the execution having arrived, I left Nehanda and went to Kagubi who received me in good dispositions. Whilst I was conversing with him Nehanda was taken out to the scaffold. Her cries and resistance when she was taken up the ladder, the screaming and yelling

on the scaffold disturbed my conversation with Kagubi very much, till the noisy opening of the trap-door upon which she stood, followed by the heavy thud of her body as it fell, made an end to the interruption.

Thus ended the life of Nehanda, the most celebrated heroine of the Shona rising.

Meanwhile Richartz continued to instruct Kagubi. 'Though very much frightened, Kagubi listened to me and repeated that he would no longer refuse to receive Baptism'. After Kagubi made the necessary acts of faith, Richartz baptized him and gave him 'the name of the good thief, Dismas with whom he was to share the great blessing of forgiveness in the hour of death'. Richartz promised him again that he would take care of his family and after he had given him 'some suitable exhortations to die well and to continue making acts of faith and repentance', the hangman came and did his duty. 'Kagubi did not give the least trouble nor did he make any lamentation. He died as he had been told the evening before by Victor to die, quiet and resigned, and, I hope, in good dispositions'.

The next two prisoners, Mashonganyika and Muzampi, 'were very well disposed'. 'When I entered the cell of the former, he rose and saluted me in a very friendly and cheerful manner and answered all my questions very satisfactorily. He asked me to look after his children and tell them that he was dead. I baptized him John Edward. He died quietly'. Muzampi was 'more difficult to prepare' but he listened to Richartz's exhortations, 'taking his death willingly', and he baptized him Peter Canisius. After some time had elapsed and the last body had been taken down and placed with the others in the gaol hospital and inspected by the authorities, they were all covered up and Richartz conducted the funeral service. 'Everyone', Richartz wrote, 'felt relieved after the execution, as the very existence of the main actors in the horrors of the rebellion, though they were secured in prison, made one feel uncomfortable'.

In the afternoon Richartz visited the remaining nine prisoners and found them 'excited and restless in consequence of the executions in the morning, and indisposed to listen to instruction'. He therefore left them alone that day and proposed to keep Victor at the gaol and see them the next day in his presence. On the morning of Thursday, 28th April, 1898 Richartz went with Victor to the gaol and talked with four prisoners who were to be executed on Friday, 29th April, - Maremba, Ndowa, Zwidembo and Gundusa. Victor 'very fluently' repeated Richartz's instructions, 'removed their doubts and difficulties, and in the end they seemed well disposed and willing to die as children of God'. In the afternoon he saw them again and found them

fully determined to do what they had promised in the morning and were 'glad' when he assured them that they would certainly not die before he had instructed and baptized them. Victor's confirmation of what Richartz had said, had 'a visible influence on their resolutions'. He saw them again in the afternoon and they listened 'readily' to his instructions. On the morning of Friday, 29th April, 1898 Richartz arrived at the prison at about 5.20 and had ample time to talk to the four men. They were 'quiet and resigned and clearly expressed their wish to be baptized and go to heaven'. He baptized Maremba, Joseph Peter (Martyr); Ndowa, Joseph Barnabas; Zwidembo, Joseph Thaddeus; and Gundusa, Joseph Thomas. All of them, and especially the last two, 'died quietly and with resignation'. While they were being executed, Richartz conducted prayers for them and afterwards, the burial prayers over their dead bodies in the prison hospital. Of the other four condemned prisoners - Mvenuri, Mashindu, Monyongani and Chirisere - who were executed on Monday, 2nd May, Richartz succeeded in persuading the last two to be baptized. The other two 'flatly refused'.¹⁵⁹

In May, 1898, 21 condemned Ndebele prisoners were executed in Bulawayo prison. The Jesuit Fathers instructed all of them and out of 21 only 2 refused to be baptized. Four who were executed in May were young men of from 22 to 28 years of age. They began to receive instruction in the first days of March. A few days before they were to die, the Fathers examined them and found their answers 'really very good'. The four condemned prisoners - Mazangunga, Mandhlana, Wata and Ntansha, according to the Jesuit priest, Fr V. Nicot, 'were blessed with the soothing influence of grace'. The two young men who died with them were 'calm and peaceful to the last, and Ntansha, especially, died a death which it is a grace to have witnessed and a consolation to remember'. Six other condemned Ndebele prisoners who had been instructed with these four, had their sentences commuted to imprisonment for 15 to 20 years. They were taken from Bulawayo prison to serve their sentences at 'some breakwater in the colony'. In June, 6 condemned Ndebele prisoners were brought for instruction and preparation for death. Three of them had their sentence commuted and the other three were baptized on 5th August, half an hour before going to the scaffold where they died with 'dispositions of humble hope that they would soon see God in Heaven'. 'Whatever may be said of the ignorance and callousness of these natives with regard to God, of their perverted ideas of right and wrong, the fact is', Nicot remarked, 'that when they know they are to die and are told that there is only one God, who is their Master, who knows all things in which they have offended him, all these truths find an echo in their souls, and by degrees it becomes evident that truly the law of God is engraven in their hearts'.¹⁶⁰

In early August, 1898 Richartz began to prepare 8 condemned prisoners for baptism before their execution. Three of them were to be executed on 27th August, two others on 29th August and the rest on the 31st. The first three were men in the 'prime of life, and such, as a rule, never submit to instruction without a lot of urging'. However, they 'listened attentively' to what he had to say to them, and 'willingly received baptism'. One of the three - Magati, an uncle of one of the school boys at Chishawasha - was very ill. His little nephew helped Richartz in instructing him. The next two were young men whose relatives had been living at Chishawasha since the end of the Shona rising. Because their brothers were catechumens, Richartz did not have much difficulty with them. The fact that they already knew him, 'facilitated matters considerably'. The other three condemned men also lent 'a willing ear' to instruction. They consoled him by saying that though they thought they had been harshly treated in being condemned to die for what they had done, 'they nevertheless considered themselves fortunate in obtaining through their misfortune the grace of baptism, which would probably not have been theirs but for their sentence'. Shortly before they went to the scaffold, 'their souls were washed in the regenerating waters, and they all went quietly to their deaths'.

Three more executions took place in November, 1898. One of the three under sentence was Gutu, 'a famous chief', who had twice succeeded in escaping from prison, and on one occasion, attempted to commit suicide. 'Everybody anticipated that he would give trouble if he was informed that his execution was near at hand, and great care was exercised to prevent his making a second attempt on his life'. To avoid 'all unnecessary trouble', Richartz waited until the last moment before telling him the hour at which he was to die. He took with him Gutu's nephew, a neophyte named Francis Xavier, and a second neophyte, to help in instructing the condemned men. These two boys confirmed what Richartz had said with 'wonderful eloquence', and 'so well and successfully did they instruct the prisoners that the warders, who were standing by and listening, were filled with astonishment'. Gutu 'gave no trouble whatever' and Richartz had to rouse the condemned men from sleep the next morning to prepare them for baptism and their end. 'I have every hope that they received the grace of the sacrament.... All seemed in the best dispositions, and the executions took place as quietly as possible'.¹⁶¹ So died the leaders of the Ndebele and Shona risings.

It has been necessary to dwell on the fate of the leaders of the Ndebele and Shona risings because apart from Nehanda and Kagubi, the fate of the other leaders of the two risings has received little attention in the past. Secondly, Nehanda and Kagubi played a key role in organizing the Shona rising.

The Jesuit priest at Chishawasha, Fr. A. Boos, characterized the Shona rising as a 'war of heathenism against Christianity'. On the one side he said,

were missionaries with their oft-repeated threats of God's punishment; on the other the prophet of their god, with his war-cry 'Murenga'... The utter failure of the rising, the manifest falsehoods of the witch-doctor, above all the fact that, when about to suffer the death penalty, he turned for consolation to that religion which he had tried so hard to overthrow; surely these were arguments too strong to be ignored, and their force was frankly acknowledged by our people on their return to us.¹⁶²

The Shona rising, he said had 'revealed many things'. 'It has, for instance, given us a deeper insight into the workings of the native mind than we before possessed, and has convinced us that their prejudices against our holy religion are not so deep-rooted as we had imagined'. The storm which had just passed, he said, 'so far from having proved the destruction of Christianity in Mashonaland', had 'in no slight degree aided its propagation'. He said the fact that Chishawasha residents joined the rebels and attacked the mission, 'must not be made too much of'. He reminded his readers that 'black though their ingratitude may appear, it must be borne in mind that the Mashonas are a nation only just emerging from the depths of the grossest barbarism in which they have been sunk from long years - a people whose character is a mixture of avarice, sensuality and superstition - who are utterly void of conscience, to whom the word gratitude is unknown, who have little thought of future reward or punishment, and who have been accustomed to regard the white man merely in the light of a purveyor of goods'. He added that the Shona were 'influenced powerfully by the hope of driving the white man once and for all out of their territories, which in their opinion he had unjustly possessed himself'. But what impressed Boos the most was the fact that 'the prime movers of the insurrection had made it a religious duty to take up arms against the white usurpers. They obtained the help of some witch-doctors, or rather prophets, who are considered by the Mashonas to be inspired by their gods, and to manifest their will to man. These issued a proclamation that Murenga, the god of war, was about to kill all white people, as well as every native who should remain neutral or render them any assistance; whilst, on the other hand, all who took part in the revolt were to be miraculously protected from the bullets of the whites. Now it is known that superstition holds the native mind in complete thralldom'. 'In the case of the Mashona', he said, 'the incredible happened':

This degraded, cowardly race, which for so many years had proved an easy prey to the Matebele raiders, at whose approach they would flee to their mountain fastnesses without thought of resistance, actually dared, at the

bidding of their prophets, to engage in a war of extermination with the white colonists; and though defeated again and again, they continued to offer stubborn resistance from their rocky strongholds, buoyed up with the unwavering belief in the promises of the witch-doctors. If then, the influence of superstition is capable of converting the weak and degraded Mashona into a strong and daring foe, may we not with reason hope that, once thoroughly imbued with the truths of the Catholic faith, he will prove a sturdy soldier of Christ, prompt and ready to make any sacrifice that may be required of him; and even, if need be, to endure relentless persecution?¹⁶³

In this manner, Fr Boos saw the positive side of the Shona rising.

Fr Richartz, too, saw positive results in the Shona rising. Writing in November, 1898 even as executions of former rebel leaders were in progress, he said that there were once more at Chishawasha 'at least as many people as we had before the rising in 1896; our school boys and working catechumens number about 180 altogether; the Sunday instructions are far more numerous attended, the opposition of the older people to the education of their sons and daughters has been broken, especially by reason of the famine which followed the war; belief in superstition and witchcraft has received a severe blow, which is a great assistance to us in convincing the young people of their futility'. In addition to those who had been at Chishawasha before the Shona rising, many others, especially the families of some prominent rebels, asked to be admitted on the farm. Even the wife and children of Kagubi were among those who sought admission on the farm. He added:

One of the most welcome changes in consequence of the war is the fact that the girls, who were always kept away by their parents, come now in great numbers, for instruction, and that while formerly no girl was allowed to think or speak about marrying a catechumen or neophyte, this is altogether changed now. We have our first two happy couples, and about twelve engagements are settled, which means twelve more Christian couples, as all the boys make it a condition of marriage, that the girls should be instructed¹⁶⁴.

These developments led Fr Boos to talk confidently of the period after the Shona rising as 'the springtime of the Mashonaland mission' with 'its joyous promises of good things to come'¹⁶⁵.

Summary and Conclusion

In this Chapter, we studied the Ndebele and Shona risings of 1896-7 in Zimbabwe from missionary sources and other corroborative evidence. We recounted in detail the causes of the Ndebele and Shona risings; the outbreak of the risings; the role of the missionaries in the campaign to suppress the two risings; the martyrdom of prominent African evangelists at various mission stations; the great famine which followed the risings; the execution of the rebel leaders; the missionaries' views of the risings and the prospects for Christianity in Matabeleland and Mashonaland after the risings. The missionaries believed that traditional religion and customs had militated against Ndebele and Shona acceptance of Christianity; they also believed that the execution of the rebel leaders and the 'false gods' who had goaded the Ndebele and Shona into rebellion, had opened up new vistas for Christianity in Matabeleland and Mashonaland. It appeared that in the immediate aftermath of the risings, there was a veritable rush to embrace Christianity, at least in Mashonaland, if the reports of the Catholic Fathers are to be believed. It remained to be seen whether the missionaries' optimism in this regard, was justified.

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21. Ibid., p. 87.
22. Andrews, op. cit., pp. 52-3.
23. WMMS., Corresp., Mashonaland, 1891-9, I. Shimmin, The Mashona Rebellion, 1896.
24. Ibid., John White to M. Hartley, 16 June, 1896.
25. *Letters and Notices*, 1895-98, 23-24, 30 January, 1896.
26. Chishawasha Diary, entry for 25 March, 1896.
27. Ibid., entry for 23 April, 1896.
28. Ibid., entry for 1 May, 1896.
29. *Letters and Notices*, 1895-98, 23-24, 20 May, 1896.
30. F. C. Selous, *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia*, (New York, Negro University Press, 1969), pp. 33-37.
31. 'History of the Zambezi Mission', *ZMR*, 1906-1909, III, 38, October, 1907, p. 309.
32. Chishawasha Diary, entry for 12 April, 1896.
33. *Father Marc Barthelemy* was born on 16 January, 1857 at Rouen, Normandy, France. He was educated at the Jesuit College of Vaugirard in Paris and joined the Society of Jesus in 1874. After taking his Degree at the University of Paris, he taught for sometime in France and afterwards for a year in Ireland. He sailed for South Africa in 1886 and was stationed at St. Aidan's Jesuit College in Grahamstown. He taught at St. Aidan's for seven years and was ordained priest by Bishop Ricards in 1887. In 1893 he accompanied the then Superior of the Zambezi Mission, the very Revd. H. Schomberg Kerr, to Mashonaland. He was first stationed at Victoria. At the end of 1895 he was transferred to Bulawayo. In 1896 he opened St. George's College. At the outbreak of the Ndebele rising, he was appointed Jesuit Chaplain to the forces. (Obituary: 'The Late Reverend Marc Barthelemy, S. J.', *ZMR*, 1914-1917, V., 63, January, 1914, p. 53. For details on the rest of his life until his death on 17th November 1913, see Ibid., pp. 54-58).
34. 'History of the Zambezi Mission', *ZMR*, 1906-1909, III, 38, October, 1907, p. 310.
35. *ZMR*, 1906-1909, III, 36, April 1907, p. 238.
36. WMMS., Corresp., Mashonaland, 1891-9, G. H. Eva to M. Hartley, 29 April, 1895.
37. Ibid., J. W. Stanlake to M. Hartley, 19 May, 1896.
38. Ibid., I. Shimmin to M. Hartley, 18 May, 1896.
39. Sykes, op. cit., p. 277.
40. 'History of the Zambezi Mission', *ZMR*, 1906-1909, III, 38, October, 1907, p. 318. For details, see M. Barthelemy, 'During the Matabele Wars', *ZMR*, 1898-1901, I, 1, May, 1898, pp. 20-21.

41. *MQP*, 1892-1896, Vols. 1-18, XVII, August, 1896, Extracts of Letters from Rev. Douglas Pelly, entry for 5 April, 1896; Letter from Rev. H. Foster to Rev. Raymond Pelly, 11 April 1896; C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the SPG*, (London, 1901), p. 362 C.
42. *MQP*, 1892-1896, Vols. 1-18, XVII, August 1896, Extracts of Letters from Rev. Douglas Pelly, entry for 19 April, 1896.
43. *Ibid.*, entry for 23 April, 1896.
44. *Ibid.*, entry for 2 May, 1896.
45. *Ibid.*, entry for 3 May, 1896.
46. *Ibid.*, entry for 5 May, 1896.
47. *Ibid.*, entry for 8 May, 1896.
48. *Ibid.*, entry for 12 May, 1896.
49. *Ibid.*, entry for 14 May, 1896.
50. *Ibid.*, entry for 22 May, 1896.
51. *Ibid.*, entry for 23 May, 1896.
52. *Ibid.*, entry for 29 May, 1896.
53. *Ibid.*, entry for 31 May, 1896.
54. *Ibid.*, entry for 5 June, 1896.
55. *Ibid.*, entry for 6 June, 1896.
56. *Ibid.*, entry for 7 June, 1896.
57. *Ibid.*, entry for 19 June, 1896.
58. *Ibid.*, entry for 21 June, 1896.
59. *Ibid.*, entry for 29 June, 1896.
60. *Ibid.*, entry for 6 July, 1896.
61. *Ibid.*, entry for 7 July, 1896.
62. *Ibid.*, entry for 11 July, 1896.
63. *Ibid.*, entry for 12 July, 1896.
64. *Ibid.*, entry for 17 July, 1896.
65. *WMMS*, *Corresp.*, Mashonaland, 1891-9, G. H. Eva to M. Hartley, 1 October, 1896.

66. *Letters and Notices*, 1895-98, 23-24, 10 October, 1896.
67. WMMS., Corresp., Mashonaland, 1891-99, I. Shimmin to M. Hartley, 17 June, 1896.
68. I. Shimmin, 'The Mashona Rebellion', *Work and Workers in the Mission Field*, November, 1896, p. 445.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 446.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 446-7.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 449-450.
72. 'History of the Zambezi Mission', *ZMR*, 1906-1909, III, 40, April, 1908, p. 394.
73. *Letters and Notices*, 1895-98, 23-24, January, 1897. Fr. Richartz's account of the attack on, and defence of, Chishawasha was reproduced in *The '96 Rebellion*, op. cit., Schedule J, pp. 107-109.
74. See for example, D. P. Abraham, *Ethno-history of the Empire of Mutapa*, in J. Vansina, R. Mauny and L. V. Thomas (eds.), *The Historian in Tropical Africa*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1964); David Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe, 900-1850*, (London, Heinemann, 1980); S. I. G. Mudenge, *A Political History of Munhumutapa*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1988).
75. W. Edwards, "Wiri", Part III, *NADA*, 1959-1963, 39, 1962, p. 23.
76. 'History of the Zambezi Mission', *ZMR*, 1906-1909, III, 40, April, 1908, p. 395.
77. Chishawasha Diary, entry for 22 June, 1896.
78. 'History of the Zambezi Mission', *ZMR*, 1906-1909, III, 40, April, 1908, p. 396.
79. Chishawasha Diary, entry for 22 June, 1896.
80. *Ibid.*, entry for 23 June, 1896.
81. *Ibid.*, entry for 25 June, 1896; for a more detailed account by Fr. Richartz, see *Letters and Notices*, 1895-98, 23-24, January, 1897.
82. *Letters and Notices*, 1895-98, 23-24, 1 February, 1897.
83. Fr. Aloysius Lebouef was born in Quebec, Canada, on 15th February, 1858. On 13th October, 1877 he joined the Society of Jesus. Though attached to the Canadian Province of the Society, he was sent to St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst, England, for his philosophical studies. In 1884 having volunteered for the Zambezi Mission, he sailed for South Africa. From 1885 he taught Mathematics and Science at St. Aidan's Jesuit College in Grahamstown. Towards the end of 1888 he returned to England for his theological studies at St. Heliers, Jersey. He was ordained in 1891. At the beginning of 1894 he returned to South Africa, and, except for a nine months' visit to his native land in 1910, he spent the remaining 33 years with the Zambezi Mission. In April, 1894 he began missionary work as a priest among the Africans of South Africa. He was sent to Vleeschfontein, 60 miles from the town of Zeerust on the western border of the Transvaal. While working there, the then Superior of the Zambezi Mission, Fr.

S. Kerr, instructed him to go to Fort Victoria, Mashonaland. He was stationed in Fort Victoria for months as its parish priest. In 1895 he was transferred to Salisbury where he worked for seven years as parish priest and Chaplain of the Dominican Sisters. It was while he was working in Salisbury that the Shona rising broke out. (Obituary, 'Fr. Aloysius Lebouef, S. J.', *ZMR*, 1926-1929, VIII, 16, April, 1927, pp. 168-169. For details on the rest of his career until his death on 4th December, 1926, see *ibid.*, pp. 169-175).

84. Chishawasha Diary, entry for July, 1896.
85. *Ibid.*, entry for 26 July, 1896.
86. *Ibid.*, entry for 27 July, 1896.
87. *Ibid.*, entry for 30 July, 1896.
88. *Letters and Notices*, 1895-98, 23-24, 1 February, 1897; see also Mr. E. C. Broadbent, 'Report on the Rescue of the Abercorn Party', *The '96 Rebellions*, op. cit., Schedule F, pp. 98-100. Mr. Duncan and his men returned to Mazoe in August, 1896. They burned 13 kraals in the upper part of the valley and looted about 30 cattle and about 40 to 50 goats. See National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ), A/12/25, Duncan to Vintcent, 13 August, 1896.
89. *Letters and Notices*, 1895-98, 23-24, 1 February, 1897; see also 'Patrol to Chishawasha and Neighbourhood', *The '96 Rebellions*, op. cit., Schedule L, p. 111.
90. Foreexample, in October, 1896 he accompanied the troops to Hartley Hill to rescue Europeans who had for a long time been besieged by the rebels. See Chishawasha Diary, entry for 7 October, 1896. For details of this campaign, see E. A. H. Alderson, *With Mounted Infantry and the Mashonaland Field Force, 1896*. (Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1971), Chapter XII.
91. *MQP*, 1892-1896, Vol. 1-18, XVII, August, 1896, Extracts of Letters from Rev. Douglas Pelly, entry for 22 July, 1896.
92. *Ibid.*, entry for 23 July, 1896.
93. *Ibid.*, entry for 28 July, 1896.
94. *Ibid.*, entry for 29 July, 1896.
95. *Ibid.*, entry for 30 July, 1896.
96. *Ibid.*, entry for 31 July, 1896.
97. *Ibid.*, entry for 11 August, 1896.
98. *Ibid.*, entry for 13 August, 1896.
99. *Ibid.*, entry for 14 August, 1896.
100. *Ibid.*, entry for 15 August, 1896.
101. *Ibid.*, entry for 16 August, 1896.

102. Ibid., entry for 17 August, 1896.
103. Ibid., entry for 18 August, 1896.
104. Ibid., entry for 19 August, 1896.
105. WMMS., Corresp., Mashonaland, 1891-9, J.W. Stanlake to M. Hartley, 28 August, 1896.
106. Ibid., J. White to M. Hartley, 30 September, 1896.
107. ZMR, III, 40, 1906-1909, April, 1908, pp. 392-393.
108. *Letters and Notices*, 23-24, 1895-98, 11 November, 1896.
109. Ibid., 1 February, 1897.
110. WMMS., Corresp., Mashonaland, 1891-9, J.W. Stanlake to M. Hartley, 2 December, 1896.
111. *Letters and Notices*, 23-24, 1895-98, 3 January, 1897.
112. WMMS., Corresp., Mashonaland, 1891-9, J. White to M. Hartley, 9 January, 1897.
113. ZMR, III, 40, 1906-1909, April, 1908, p. 392.
114. MQP, 1897-1900, 19-24, XXIII, February, 1898, Letter from the Reverend H. Foster, 1 March, 1897.
115. WMMS., Corresp., Mashonaland, 1891-9, J.W. Stanlake to M. Hartley, 7 March 1897.
116. *Letters and Notices*, 23-24, 1895-98, 29 March, 1897.
117. Ibid., 30 March, 1897.
118. WMMS., Corresp., Mashonaland, 1891-9, J.W. Stanlake to M. Hartley, 7 March, 1897.
119. Ibid., J. White to M. Hartley, 30 April 1897.
120. MQP, 1897-1900, Vols. 19-24, XVII, Letter from the Revd. H.H. Foster, 16 June, 1897.
121. WMMS., Corresp., Mashonaland, 1891-9, J. White to M. Hartley, 12 August, 1897.
122. Chishawasha Diary, entry for 6 September, 1897.
123. Ibid., entry for 15 September, 1897.
124. Ibid., entry for 30 September, 1897.
125. Ibid., entry for 11 October, 1897.
126. Ibid., entry for 29 October, 1897.

127. John White, 'Re-occupying Vacated Stations Since the War', *Work and Workers*, April, 1897, p. 150.
128. I Shimmin, 'The Mashona Rebellion', *Work and Workers*, November, 1896, p. 448.
129. J. W. Stanlake, 'Travelling in Mashonaland Since the War', *Work and Workers*, January, 1898, p. 15.
130. I. Shimmin, 'The Mashona Rebellion', *Work and Workers*, November, 1896, p. 448-449.
131. *Ibid.*, p. 455.
132. *Ibid.*, pp. 453-455.
133. *Ibid.*, pp. 454-455. For a brief account of the circumstances surrounding the deaths of Mr. James White and Moiele, see also W. Edwards, 'Wiri', *NADA*, 1959-1963, 39, 1962, pp. 27-28.
134. I. Shimmin, 'The Mashona Rebellion', *Work and Workers*, November 1896, p. 448; Schedule D, 'Reports by Mr. Fairbairn on the murders of Messrs. Cass, Faull and Dickenson at Mazoe', *The '96 Rebellions*, op. cit., p. 91; *MQP*, 1892-1896, Vols. 1-18, XVIII, November, 1896, Extracts from Letter from Archdeacon Upcher, 30 June, 1896.
135. Jean Farrant, *Mashonaland Martyr: Bernard Mizeki and the Pioneer Church*, (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1966). For an abridged version, see Margaret L. Snell, *Bernard Mizeki of Zimbabwe*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1986).
136. Farrant, op. cit., pp. 122-3.
137. D.R. Pelly, 'Bernard Mizeki, The first Mashonaland Martyr', *MQP*, 1897-1900, Vols. 19-34, XIX, February, 1897, p. 9.
138. Lillian Knight-Bruce, 'Bernard Mizeki', *MQP*, 1892-1896, Vols. 1-18, XVIII, November, 1896, p. 19.
139. Farrant, op. cit., p. 177.
140. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
141. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-209.
142. *MQP*, 1897-1900, Vols. 19-34, XX, May, 1897, Letter from the Rev. D.R. Pelly, 15 February, 1897. See also H.P. Thompson, *The Martyr of Mashonaland: The Story of Bernard Mizeki*, (London, SPG, 1937), pp. 13-14. 'Bernard Mizeki, Martyr of Southern Rhodesia, 1896', in D.C. Abdy, *Our Own African Saints*, (London, SPCK, 1938), pp. 22-23; D.R. Pelly, 'Bernard Mizeki, The first Mashonaland Martyr' *MQP*, 1897-1900, Vols 19-34, XIX, November, 1897, p. 9; SPG, *Annual Report*, 1896, p. 139.
143. Farrant, op. cit., pp. 220-222.
144. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
145. In 1937 the Anglican Church erected a Shrine at the site of Bernard Mizeki's martyrdom. The

Shrine was consecrated by Bishop Paget on Bernard's Day, 18th June, 1938, in the presence of the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Herbert Stanley. See Farrant, *ibid.*, pp. 238-9.

146. *Letters and Notices*, 1895-98, 23-24, October, 1897.
147. Mrs. Helm, 'In Matabeleland', *The Chronicle of the London Missionary Society*, 1895-1897, Vols. 4-6, 5, July, 1896, p. 158.
148. *Letters and Notices*, 23-24, 1895-98, 27 September, 1896.
149. *Ibid.*, 10 October, 1896.
150. *Ibid.*, 30 November, 1896.
151. *Ibid.*, 7 January, 1897.
152. *Ibid.*, 18 March, 1897.
153. W.A. Elliot, *Gold From The Quartz*, (London, Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Company, 1910), pp. 172-173.
154. Virgil Robinson, *The Solusi Story* (Washington, D.C., Review and Herald Publishing Company, 1979), pp. 55-6.
155. I.B. Burton, *The Reminiscences And Recollections of A Pioneer Or With The Message In The Dark Continent, 1894-1924*, 1976, pp. 53-4.
156. W.H. Anderson, *On The Trail of Livingstone*, (Mountainview, California, Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1969), pp. 116; 121-122.
157. A. Boos, 'The Springtime of the Mashonaland Mission', *ZMR*, I 1898-1901, 4, May, 1899, p. 126.
158. 'History of the Zambezi Mission', *ZMR*, 1906-1909, III, 40, April, 1908, p. 393.
159. F. Richartz, 'The End of Kakubi and the other Condemned Murderers', *ZMR*, I, 1898-1901, 2, November, 1898, pp. 53-55.
160. V. Nicot, 'The Condemned Matabele Murderers on the Scaffold', *ZMR*, I, 1898-1901, 2, November, 1898, pp. 59-61.
161. F. Richartz, 'More About the Condemned Murderers in Mashonaland', *ZMR*, I, 1898-1901, 4, May, 1899, pp. 127-128.
162. A. Boos, 'The Springtime of the Mashonaland Mission', *ZMR*, I, 1898-1901, 4 May, 1899, p. 126.
163. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.
164. F. Richartz, 'Chishawasha after the Rebellion', *ZMR*, I, 1898-1901, 2, November, 1898, pp. 61-62.
165. A. Boos, 'The Springtime of the Mashonaland Mission', *ZMR*, I, 1898-1901, 4, May, 1899, p. 126.

Chapter 3

Opening of new Mission Stations, 1897-1923

We saw in Chapter 1 that Christian missionaries opened several mission stations in Zimbabwe between 1891 and the beginnings of the Ndebele and Shona risings of 1896-7. In the wake of the suppression of the two risings, Christian missionaries opened new mission stations. In this Chapter, we shall consider the opening of new mission stations from the end of the Shona rising in 1897 to 1923.

After the suppression of the Ndebele rising, the LMS expanded its operations in Matabeleland when David Carnegie opened a mission station at Centenary, 30 miles west of Hope Fountain¹ in October, 1897 on a farm of 6,000 acres which the Government had granted to the LMS. At the request of Mr and Mrs Carnegie, Mr R.N. Hall of Bulawayo laid the foundation-stone of the mission church. The ceremony took place in the presence of a small company of white people and was 'unique and historical, as this was the first foundation-stone laid in West Matabeleland'.² In 1900 Bowen Rees opened a mission station at Insiza.³ In August, 1907 John Whiteside opened a mission station at Tjimali.⁴

Meanwhile, the Brethren In Christ Church (BICC) from the United States entered the Zimbabwe mission field when Bishop Jesse Engel, Mrs Engel, Sisters Frances Davidson and Alice Heise, arrived at Bulawayo on 2nd May, 1898. For the first two months, they lived in a tent while the authorities assisted them in selecting a mission site. The party left Bulawayo on the evening of the 4th of July; on the morning of 7th July, they reached the site which they had selected for a mission station and founded Matopo mission⁵ on a farm of 3,000 acres which the BSA Company had granted them.⁶ On 11th November, 1898 they started a school⁷ with 12 students.⁸ When Bishop Engel who had built the first church at Matopo mission in 1898, died at the mission on 3rd April, 1900 he was succeeded by Bishop H.P. Steigerwald who, with Mrs Steigerwald, arrived on the mission field in November, 1901. On 17th June, 1905 the Revd Harvey Frey and his wife, Emma Frey, and Sisters Adda G. Engel and Abbie Bert who had been ordained on 19th May, 1905 as Foreign Mission workers, sailed for Rhodesia and arrived at Matopo mission on 2nd August, 1905.⁹ In June, 1906 Revd Frey, assisted by several African boys from Matopo mission, began building a temporary hut for the purpose of opening a new mission station in the Mtshabezi Valley, about 50 miles from Matopo mission.¹⁰ In July, 1906 Revd and

Mrs Frey opened Mtshabezi mission on 6,000 acres of land which the BSA Company had granted to the B.I.C.C.¹¹

In 1910 the B.I.C.C. missionaries opened two out-schools, one at Swazi, 15 miles to the north-east and the other at Matshiya, 28 miles from Mtshabezi.¹² In 1913 they opened an out-school at Kwakwe, about seven and a half miles south-east of Mtshabezi.¹³ In 1916 they opened two new out-schools, one at Silozwe and the other at Silobi.¹⁴

Meanwhile, the Dutch Reformed Church expanded its operations in Southern Mashonaland when the Revds P.H. Fourie and L.A. Du Plessis, opened Pamushana mission, 50 miles east of Fort Victoria in 1901. In 1906 the Revd H.H. Orlandini opened Alheit mission.¹⁵ In 1907 large-scale expansion took place when Gutu, Chibi and Zimuto mission stations which had been founded by the Berlin Missionary Society in 1892, 1894 and 1904 respectively,¹⁶ were transferred to the Dutch Reformed Church.¹⁷ In 1908 the Revd J.F. Roux opened Jichidza mission. In 1911 the Revd H.C. Hugo was posted to Chibi.¹⁸ The Revd P.A. Badenhorst who had arrived on the field in 1912, founded Makumbe mission in 1915.¹⁹

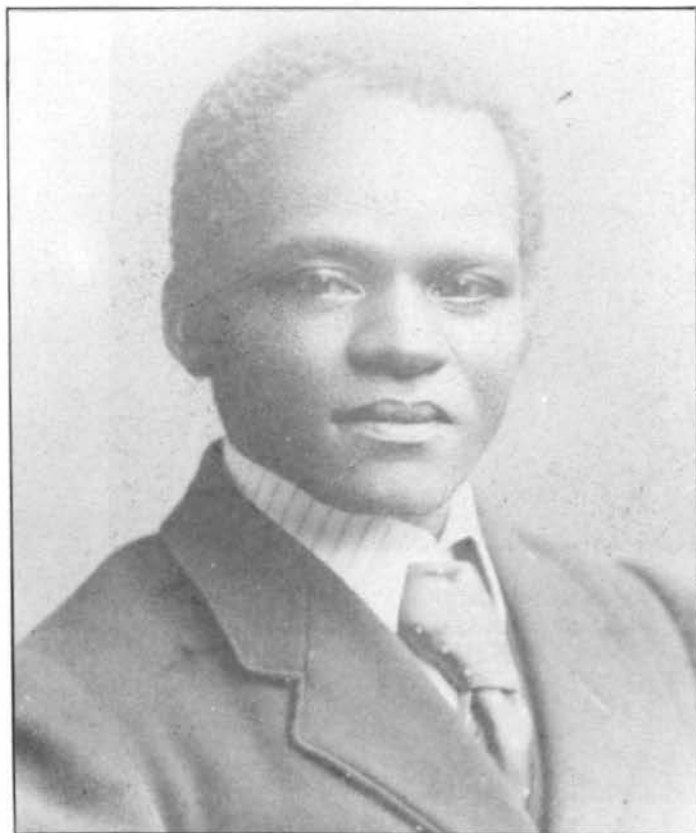
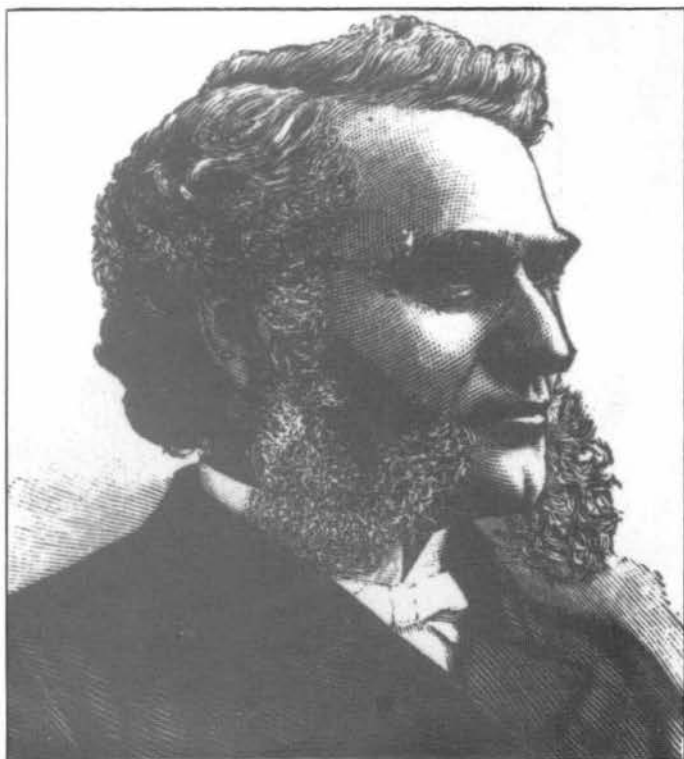
I discussed elsewhere²⁰ the mission stations which the Wesleyan Methodists established in Zimbabwe between 1897 and 1914 and no further detail is called for except to say that the most important were: Tegwani (founded in 1897)²¹; Chimanza (opened in May, 1908)²²; Sandringham (opened in 1913)²³; and Marshall Hartley (opened in 1914).²⁴

Meanwhile, early in 1896 four Catholic missionaries of the Trappist Order at Marianhill in Natal - Fr Hyacinth, Bros Nivard, Simon and Romuald - set off for Rhodesia to open Triashill mission in the Nyanga District on a farm of 10,000 morgen which Cecil Rhodes had granted to the Trappists in 1895. About four weeks after reaching their destination, the Shona rising broke out. Thirteen white men had already been killed when the Magistrate of Umtali sent a messenger to Triashill to call the missionaries into camp.²⁵ The missionaries hoped that a speedy stamping out of the rebellion would enable them to resume their operations at Triashill. When this did not materialise, they returned to Natal in October, 1896.²⁶ In 1901 the Trappists returned to Rhodesia. Because Triashill was 'too far from the railway, too inaccessible, too mountainous to form a suitable basis for mission work', the missionaries decided to look for a piece of land nearer the railway. They found a suitable farm of 5,000 acres on the Fairfield Estate near the Macheke Siding and established Monte Cassino mission.²⁷ In 1901 Fr Gerard Wolpert, Abbot of the Trappists at Marianhill,

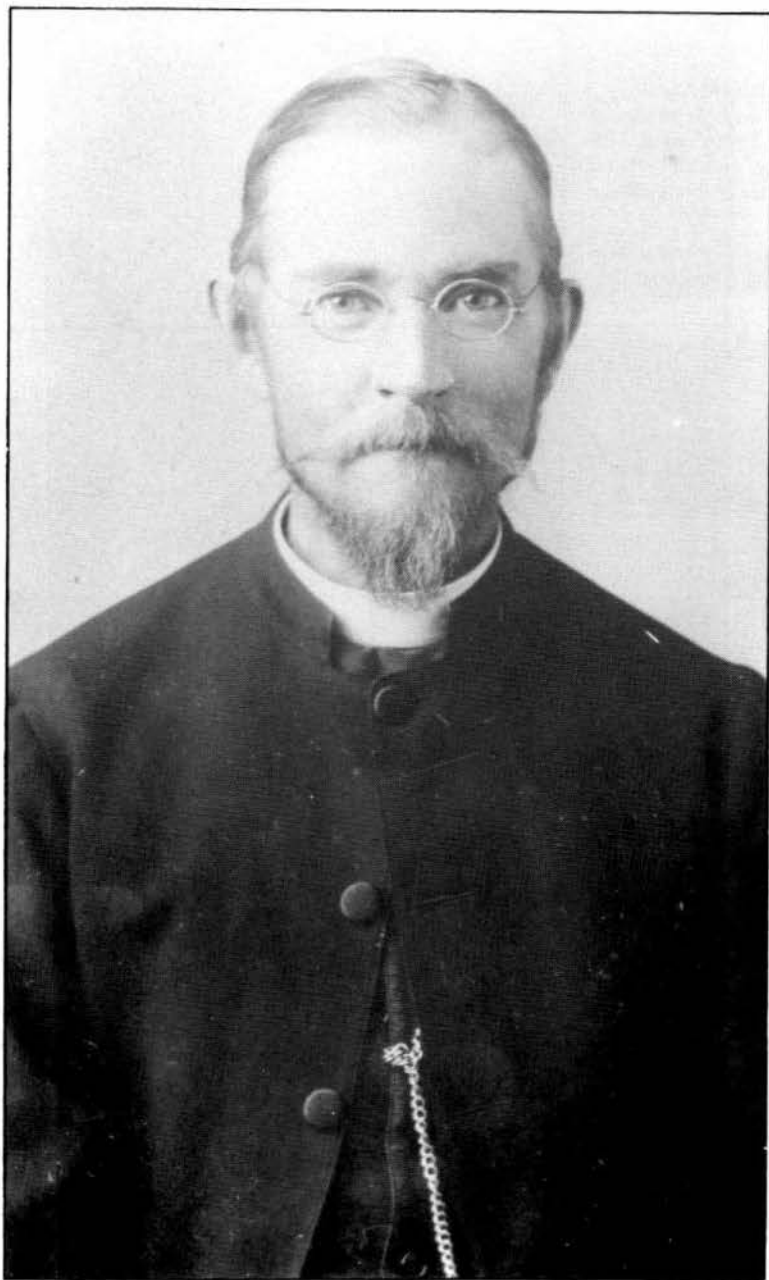
bought the farm.²⁸ In November, 1901 Bro. Leopold arrived from Marianhill. He stayed at Chishawasha for five months learning the Shona language. In April, 1902 he set off for Monte Cassino. On arrival, he immediately set to work to prepare the way for colleagues who were to join him before the end of the year. For six months he was busy clearing the ground, digging trenches to drain a huge marsh, building huts, sowing and planting. On 4th October, 1902 Frs Hyacinth and Amadeus and Bro. Zacharias arrived from Natal and began work at Monte Cassino in earnest. The infant mission suffered severely. Murrain carried off all the cattle which the monks had purchased to stock their farm and Fr Amadeus succumbed to repeated attacks of fever six months after his arrival at Monte Cassino. Fr Odilo arrived from Natal to fill the gap made by this untimely death but two months later, in July, 1903 he returned to Natal. After Fr Odilo's departure, Fr Hyacinth was so weakened by malaria that he too, was obliged to return to Marianhill where he died early in 1904.

Meanwhile, fresh disasters befell the young mission. A severe drought dried up and destroyed everything planted in the garden; red-water fever appeared once more and swept off most of the cattle which the Brothers had bought to replace those previously lost; and a fire, the origin of which was never discovered, completely destroyed the new community house which the Brothers had built. However, when Fr Robert arrived from Natal in March, 1904 to replace Fr Hyacinth, better times dawned on the young mission. In 1905, Fr Robert conducted a night school for the boys and young men working on the mission farm. Fr Bonaventura who succeeded Fr Robert at Monte Cassino in 1908 soon opened a day and boarding school for all the boys who wished to learn. In 1910 the Sisters of the Precious Blood, four of whom had arrived from Natal in 1908, took charge of the school. Early in 1911 the Trappists opened St Anthony, 40 miles south-east of Monte Cassino. In May, 1911 they opened a second out-school, St Peter, on a private farm, 30 miles south-south-east, of Monte Cassino. In 1912 they built and opened a school-chapel dedicated to St Ludger twenty-five miles south-west of Monte Cassino.²⁹ Meanwhile, in September, 1908 the Trappists re-occupied and re-opened Triashill when F. Robert arrived at Triashill. He soon started an open-air school which was attended by 60 boys and girls. Six weeks after his arrival, he was joined by Bro Zacharias who set to work and built a solid chapel with a corrugated roof. In January, 1909 the little community at Triashill was augmented by the arrival of Bro Pfister Aegidius who soon learned the local language and prepared himself for the duties of a catechist.³⁰ In June, 1909 Fr Franz Mayr arrived at Triashill from Natal; on 10th March, 1910 Fr A. Fleischer also arrived at Triashill from Natal. On 5th October, 1910 four Sisters arrived at Triashill. Three of them came directly from the novitiate in Holland; the fourth, the Mother Superior, was an experienced missionary Sister from Natal.³¹ The Trappists opened

Bishop Joseph Hartzell:
pioneer missionary of the American Methodist Episcopal Church arrives in Umtali in 1897. (Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)



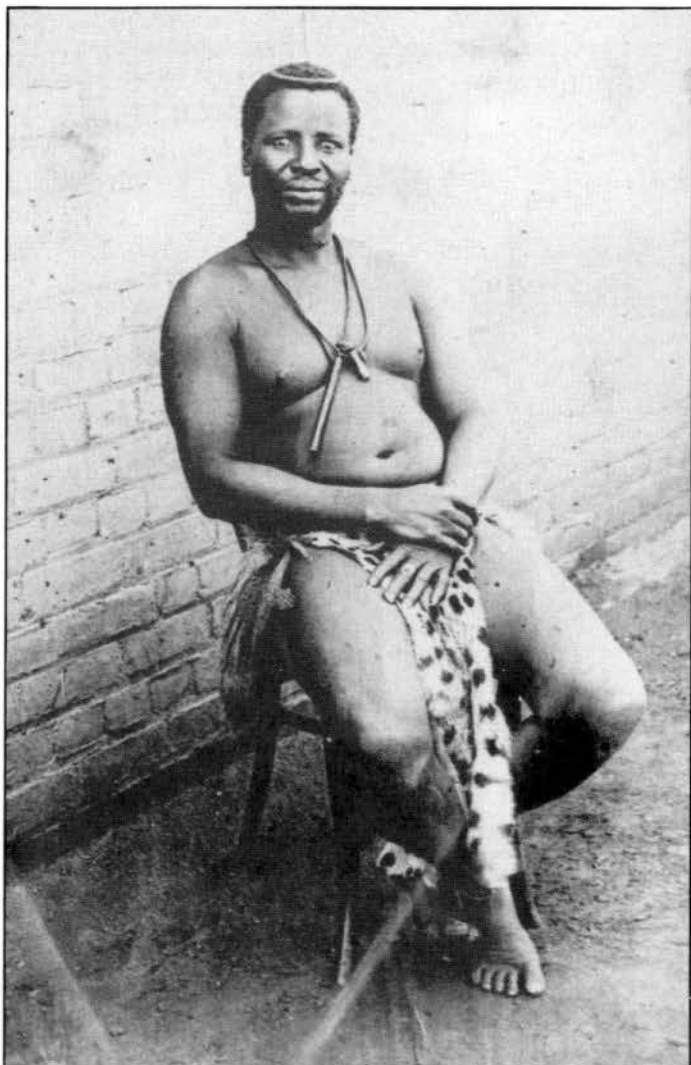
Revd J.B. Radasi:
founder of the Free Presbyterian Church of Ingwenya in 1904 (Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)



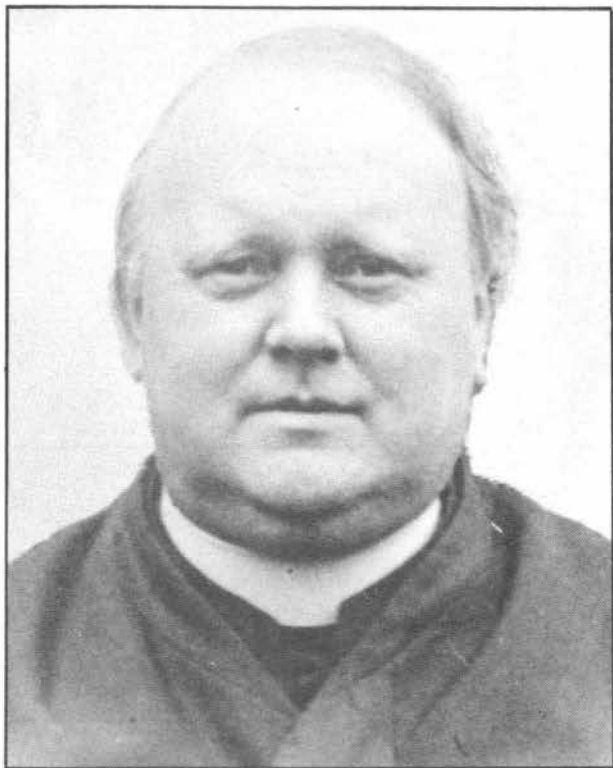
Fr J. O'Neil: prolific writer on 'Habits and Customs of the Natives of Mangwe District, South Matabeleland' and numerous other articles (*Photo: Archives of Zimbabwe*)



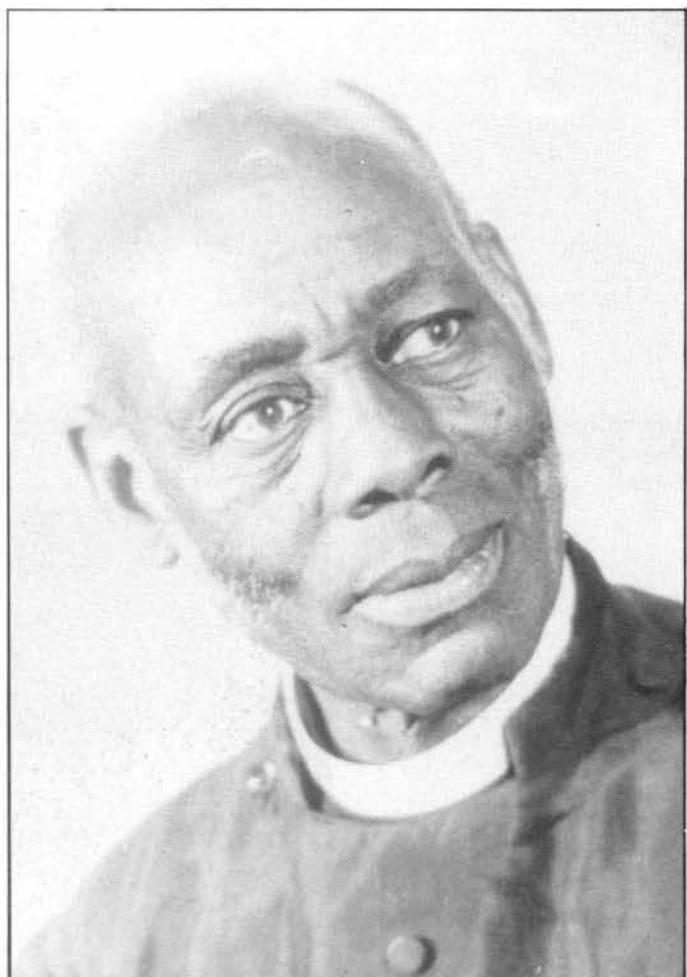
Above: Chief Tshitshi and four of his daughters *(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)*



Right: Chief Gampu Sithole *(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)*



Fr Richard Sykes.
*(Photo: National Archives of
Zimbabwe)*



Canon Leonard Sagonda:
Ordained Anglican Priest in 1923.
*(Photo: National Archives of
Zimbabwe)*

several outstations in 1910: St Barbara 8 miles away; St Cassian, nine miles away in a north-westerly direction; St Michael, six miles to the east; St Anthony also in the east, four miles beyond St Michael; St Boniface, six miles away in Makoni Reserve; St Paul, five miles west of St Barbara and Crossdale, sixty to seventy miles north-east of Triashill.³²

After the suppression of the Shona rising, the Jesuits opened several mission stations in Southern Mashonaland. About the middle of 1898 they opened Mzondo Mission station about five to six miles from Fort Victoria and three and a half miles from the present mission site, with Fr Anthony Boos as the first priest in charge, assisted by Fr Joseph Ronchi. Early in October, Fr Ronchi, was transferred to Umtali and Fr Anthony Stempfel came to take his place at Mzondo. The first mission buildings were two small canvass houses, one for the use of the priests and the other to serve as a temporary chapel. A brick building with a thatched roof was constructed by Bro. Henry Meyer who had been sent from Chishawasha for the purpose; this was used as a school and instruction hall. In April, 1899 Fr Boos died of blackwater fever in Fort Victoria Hospital at the age of 44.³³ In October, Fr Casset arrived at Mzondo to assist Fr Stempfel. Two months later, Bro. Meyer died of fever. Because the health of the two remaining priests, Frs. Casset and Stempfel, continued to be poor and there were no other priests available to take their place, it was deemed advisable to remove them from Mzondo. In March, 1900 the Jesuits abandoned the mission. It was not until 1909 that they re-opened the mission. On 1st August, 1909 Fr Apel left Driefontein in an ox-wagon, accompanied by Bros. Barbera and Mellon, and after trekking for four days across open veldt and through bush country, they reached the foot of Gokomere Kopje which they had chosen as the best site for the mission. As the Kopje was a well-known and conspicuous landmark in the District, they decided to change the name of the mission from Mzondo to Gokomere. When Fr Apel and Bros. Barbera and Mellon arrived, they found one hut ready; two others were under construction. They soon completed the two huts and converted one into a temporary chapel. In November, Fr Bert joined Fr Apel at Gokomere. By this time, they had built an oblong residence of mud bricks to serve as a community house, and soon afterwards, they opened a school for the working boys and others. In the course of the last two months of 1910 they constructed a chapel, on the mud-block system. In 1911 they began constructing a large school-chapel and opened the building which was capable of holding 400 people, on Easter Sunday, 1912. In October, the Jesuits started an outstation at Nyengwa, one mile south of Old Mzondo. Four months later, they opened a school at Matova near the Matova River. When Fr Apel left for Europe in March, 1913 the assistant priest, Fr Bert, became Superior of Gokomere. Fr Francis Marconess soon joined him and remained at the mission until shortly after

Easter, 1916 when Fr Peter Bontemps took his place. Meanwhile, early in 1914 Bro Buskens arrived from Dumbrody to take charge of the mission farm. In 1915 Bro Mellon built two granite schools to replace the school huts at Nyengwa and Matova. The former school was henceforth known as St Raphael and the latter as St Michael. In June, 1916 Fr Bert opened a school at Inyoni, 40 miles from Gokomere.³⁴

Meanwhile, in 1904 the Jesuits purchased Driefontein farm. In 1906 Frs Emil Schmitz and Joseph Hornig accompanied by three Brothers, came to settle on the farm. They built a small chapel and work shops, planted trees and cultivated a vegetable garden and cornfields. They dug a well, made and burnt bricks and in March, 1908 they erected the first brick building providing accommodation for fifty working boys. About the end of April, they laid the foundations of the community house. They completed the house early in September and occupied the new buildings on 8th September. Immediately afterwards, they began and soon completed two brick buildings, one to serve as a chapel and the other for workshops. In February, 1909 Fr Wilhelm arrived at Driefontein to assist Fr Schmitz. Early in 1910 they established the first plantations of eucalyptus trees. In April, 1911 they opened out-schools at Gambiza and Makamure. In May, they built a school at Rutunga and opened it in October. By this time, the school-chapel at Driefontein was so crowded that it became absolutely necessary to erect a much larger church. They dug the foundations on 1st March, 1912 and Bro. Lindner came from Chishawasha with five African bricklayers to erect the building. They completed the walls and roof by the end of August and a month later, they completed the church. It was dedicated to St Peter Claver and was opened on 9th September. In 1913 the Jesuits opened two new schools, one at Chiveshe and the other at Debge.

In 1914 the Jesuits opened a mission station at Holy Cross in Chilimanzi Reserve, fifteen miles from Driefontein. Bro. John Haupt arrived to direct operations and Bro. Lindner arrived with trained bricklayers to build the church. They first built the presbytery and completed it on 7th August. Meanwhile, in July they dug the foundation of the church. They completed the church at the beginning of October and opened it on 28th October. Meanwhile, on 15th October, Fr Withnell went to reside permanently at Holy Cross; Fr Malin joined him on 3rd August, 1915.³⁵ Holy Cross served as a centre for the following outstations: Muzeza (founded in 1914); Makanya (opened in 1915); Mapiravana (founded in 1916); Nuane (opened in 1917) and Namboka (founded in 1918).³⁶

Meanwhile, in August, 1912 Fr Hornig started St Joseph's mission near Chief Hama's village. During the year the mission was moved from the original site to a

healthier one more than a mile away. Bro. Haupt arrived to superintend building operations. The presbytery was ready by the beginning of October and the church was completed in November. At the beginning of 1914 the Jesuits opened a school at Mavurunge, about three miles south of St Joseph's. Early in 1915 they opened a school at Charandure, three miles north-east of St Joseph's. At the beginning of 1916 they opened two new schools, one at Zwinyoro, five miles north-west of St Joseph's and the other at Vudzi, four miles west-north-west of St Joseph's.³⁷

After the suppression of the Ndebele rising, the Jesuits expanded their operations in Matabeleland. In February, 1898 Fr Charles Bick arrived at Empandeni; in June, 1899 five Sisters of Notre Dame arrived from England to take charge of the school. In 1902 Fr Bick opened an outstation at Embakwe, 8 miles south-west of Empandeni. In 1907 Fr Bick opened an outstation at Silima, north-west of Empandeni. In 1908 he opened an outstation at Kwrite to the east. In 1909 Fr Richartz opened an outstation at Mkaya. In 1914 Fr Biehler opened an outstation at Mhlotshana to the east.³⁸

Meanwhile, in December, 1911 the Jesuits opened Kutama mission, the first outstation of Chishawasha, some fifty miles west of Salisbury.³⁹ The mission was named after Headman Stephen Kutama of the village near which the mission was established.⁴⁰ In 1912 Fr Bernard Lickorish conducted the first Mass ever held at Kutama.⁴¹ In 1913 Fr Richartz appointed Cassiano, son of Chivinda Ushewokunze, as the first teacher and catechist of Kutama village while Patrick Chanetsa was the first catechist for Murombedzi.⁴² In 1914 Fr J.B. Loubiere was appointed the first resident priest at Kutama.⁴³ He was assisted by Joseph Dambaza,⁴⁴ the father of the well-known Zimbabwean nationalist, James R. Dambaza Chikerema.⁴⁵ By 1916 Fr Loubiere had built a church and by 1920 Kutama had become an independent mission with himself as Superior.⁴⁶

We noted in Chapter 1 that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions opened their first mission station at Mt. Selinda in 1893 and the second at Chikore in 1895. In 1896 Miss Juliette H. Gilson arrived on the mission field and became responsible for the school at Mt. Selinda. In 1902 Miss Minnie Clarke came to assist Miss Gilson. In 1903 the first carpentry class was organised at Mt. Selinda. The industrial department made great strides forward under Mr C.C. Fuller, Mr A.J. Ormer (1909) and Mr F.S. Dart (1911). The missionaries felled and cut up trees, made and burned bricks, moulded roofing tiles and erected permanent buildings. In 1912 they opened a hospital at Mt. Selinda when a trained nurse, Miss Edith Lundquist, arrived. In 1919 an industrial teacher, Mr R.B. Hack, arrived at Mt. Selinda. During the year, Mr E.D. Alvord, a trained agriculturalist, arrived on the mission field. The

number of primary schools run by the American Board increased from 4 in 1913 to 18 in 1923. During this period, the two central schools at Mt. Selinda and Chikore grew until there were nearly 800 students in 1923. The medical department at Mt. Selinda made progress when Miss M.A. Tonz went home, took training and returned as a qualified nurse in 1923.⁴⁷

The American Methodist Episcopal Church entered the Zimbabwe mission field when Bishop Joseph Hartzell arrived at Umtali on 10th December, 1897.⁴⁸ He negotiated with the BSA Company for grants of land on which to start a mission at Umtali. The negotiations resulted in grants of land and buildings at both Umtali and Old Umtali for church and missionary work. The Old Umtali mission site consisted of 13,000 acres.⁴⁹ The BSA Company made these grants on condition that the A.M.E.C. open a school for European children at Umtali and a 'native industrial mission' at Old Umtali.⁵⁰ The first missionaries on the field, the Revd Morris W. Ehnes and Mrs Ehnes, both of Ohio Wesleyan University, arrived at Umtali on 15th September, 1898 and opened the Umtali Academy for European children on 15th November, 1898 with 13 pupils.⁵¹ Because of illness, Mr Ehnes was unable to continue with both school and church work and the latter was practically at a standstill until the Revd R. Wodehouse and Mrs Wodehouse arrived at Umtali on 4th April, 1901. When Mr Ehnes returned to the United States in June, 1901 the Revd Emory Beetham from Drew Theological Seminary, succeeded him as Principal of the Umtali Academy in July 1901. The attendance and range of subjects at the school necessitated the appointment of another teacher and early in 1902 Mrs Rosa St C. Tulloch was added to the staff.⁵²

On 29th September, 1904 Bishop Hartzell appointed Mr James E. Ferris and Mrs Ferris teachers for the Umtali Academy. Sailing from New York on 9th November, they reached Salisbury on 11th November and Umtali on 14th December, 1904. Mr Ferris was appointed Principal of the Umtali Academy. On 1st February, 1905 he opened a night school for those pupils who could not attend school during the day. The enrolment consisted of 45 pupils in the day school and 11 in the night school. The Rhodesian Government supported the Academy by paying half the salaries of the teachers and half the expenses of the school.⁵³ In 1906 a total of 72 pupils were enrolled and the teachers comprised of Mr and Mrs Ferris, Miss Elsie Bennett and Miss Ethel Gray. In October, 1906 Mr N.H. Robson, an experienced teacher from England, arrived at the school. In February, 1907 Miss H.L. Lodge from Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, Canada, arrived at the Academy and began work as a teacher of music.⁵⁴ In 1909 the A.M.E.C. handed over the Academy to the Government.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, the Revd M.H. Reid who arrived in October, 1898 was the first missionary to work at Old Umtali.⁵⁶ In April, 1899 the Revd James L. Dewitt and Mrs Dewitt, both of Ohio Wesleyan University, accompanied by Mrs Anna Arndt and her assistant, Mr Herman Heinkel, arrived at Old Umtali. In April, 1900 Mr Eddy H. Greeley arrived at Old Umtali and married Mrs Anna Arndt. Shortly after his arrival Mr Greeley started a boys' school at Old Umtali. The enrolment increased during the year to 20 scholars.⁵⁷ When he turned the school over to his successor in 1904 it had 40 pupils.⁵⁸ In 1904 the first girl arrived for school at Old Umtali. By the middle of 1905 there were 10 girls under the care and training of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society.⁵⁹ Meanwhile, in June, 1901 the Revd John M. Springer from Northwestern University, arrived at Old Umtali. Accompanying Mr Springer were Miss Harriette E. Johnstone and Mrs Helen E. Rasmussen representing the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society.⁶⁰ On 4th July, 1901 Mr George M. Odum of Michigan Agricultural College arrived at Old Umtali and took charge of the Agricultural Department.⁶¹ On 2nd January, 1905 Mrs Helen Rasmussen married the Revd John M. Springer at Old Umtali.⁶² On 4th June, 1905 Shirley D. Coffin arrived at Old Umtali.⁶³ In July, 1906 Miss Virginia Swormstedt arrived at Old Umtali and took over the work of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society and its 9 girls from Mrs Springer.⁶⁴ In October, 1906 Mr E.L. Sechrist and Mrs Sechrist arrived at Old Umtali. Mr Sechrist took charge of the Mechanical Department while Mrs Sechrist supervised the work in the primary school.⁶⁵ In addition to the work on the mission farm, Mr Sechrist also did some medical work.⁶⁶ On 8th February, 1907 Miss Sophia J. Coffin of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society arrived at Old Umtali and immediately began work in the Girls' School. She started with 26 resident girls and 4 day pupils. By the end of the year the enrolment had increased to 36 resident girls and 11 day scholars.⁶⁷ By the end of 1907 the total enrolment increased from 76 to 92 pupils.⁶⁸ In 1908 a total of 129 pupils were enrolled at Old Umtali. The teacher training class under Mrs Ferris, numbered 23.⁶⁹ Of the total enrolment, 65 were girls.⁷⁰ In 1910 the Revd H.N. Howard was appointed Principal of Old Umtali. A systematic course in industrial work was started. Mr George A. Roberts, a graduate of Ames Agricultural College, took charge of training students in agriculture and animal husbandry while Mr C.S. Till taught building and woodwork.⁷¹ On 1st October, 1913 the Revd Henry I. James arrived on the mission field. About the middle of July, 1914 he was appointed Principal of Old Umtali after the sudden departure of the Revd H.N. Howard.⁷² In January, 1917 Mr William Hodgson arrived at Old Umtali to take charge of the Trades Department.⁷³ He organised classes in woodwork, leather work and bricklaying.⁷⁴ Towards the end of the year regular teacher training classes were started when Mr S.C. Searle, a well-trained teacher from South Africa, was appointed.⁷⁵

On 12th June, 1919 Mr and Mrs H.E. Taylor arrived at Old Umtali. On 14th June, Mr Taylor began his duties as agricultural instructor while Mrs Taylor was in charge of the children's school which was composed of the children of the married pupils of the Central Training School. She also had three pupil-teachers in training as teachers of the school.⁷⁶ On 15th August, the Principal, Mr Howard, was taken ill and left for Salisbury. On 1st December, Mr Taylor was formally appointed Principal of Old Umtali.⁷⁷ In January, 1921 Mrs Taylor was appointed to teach in the Central Training School and Mrs M.J. Murphree who arrived at Old Umtali on 17th September, 1920,⁷⁸ took charge of the children's school.⁷⁹ On 9th November, 1922 the Revd Robert C. Gates arrived at Old Umtali and took up the literary and normal work of the school.⁸⁰

Meanwhile, in 1905 Bishop Hartzell proposed to the Government to exchange 5,500 morgen of the original 13,000 acres of the Old Umtali land grant for the same amount of land elsewhere in Southern or Northern Rhodesia in such places and amounts as might be mutually agreed upon. The proposal was accepted and the transfer was completed by June, 1906. Of the land credited to the A.M.E.C., portions were taken up in the following order and amounts: Mutambara Farm of 3,700 acres in 1907; Arnoldene Farm of 2,453 acres in 1916; Glenada Farm of 256 acres in 1919 and Nyadiri Farm of 4,222 acres in 1923.⁸¹ In 1905 the Revd Eddy H. Greeley founded Mt. Makomwe mission station⁸². During the year an African preacher opened Mutambara Mission, about 50 miles south of Umtali. By 1907 a farm of 3,700 acres from the land credit with the Government, had been secured for a mission station. In April, 1908 the Revd A.L. Buchwalter and Mrs Buchwalter arrived at Mutambara⁸³ and soon afterwards, Miss Edith M. Bell went to assist them.⁸⁴ When Mr and Mrs Buchwalter and Miss Bell left for America because of illness, the Revd T.A. O'Farrell was appointed to Mutambara. In June, 1911 the boys' and girls' schools at Mutambara were combined and in January, 1912 Miss Ruby Goddard was added to the staff. In 1913 a brick house was erected and in 1914 a large brick church as well as boys' dormitories were built. After Mr O'Farrell left on furlough in 1915 Mr R.B. Wallace took charge of the school.⁸⁵ Mr Wallace was succeeded by Mr J.G. Paisley who arrived at Mutambara on 5th September, 1916.⁸⁶ At the Conference of 1917 the Revd G.A. Roberts was appointed to Mutambara. In June, 1918 the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society opened work at Mutambara and Miss Sadie M. Rexrode and Miss Lulu M. Tubbs were sent to lay the foundations.⁸⁷ Their work consisted of teaching in the Primary Department of the school and supervising the industrial training of the girls.⁸⁸ In May, 1919 they started building the school-house which, for some months, housed the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society workers, the boarding girls and a school with an average attendance of 200 pupils. In 1921 the

enrolment increased to 261 pupils of whom 53 were girls in the boarding department.⁸⁹ Of the total enrolment, 97 pupils were enrolled in morning classes while 164 were enrolled in afternoon classes.⁹⁰ In 1922 the boarding department had 72 girls⁹¹ while the total enrolment stood at 310 pupils.⁹² In November, 1922 Mrs H.E. Taylor was appointed Principal of the Mutambara Girls' School⁹³ while Mr Taylor took over the department of agriculture and animal husbandry and the boarding department of the school.⁹⁴

Meanwhile, in 1907 the Revd S. Coffin opened Nyakatsapa mission and in 1909 Miss Pearl Mullikin was posted there. In 1910 Mrs Coffin went home for health reasons and Mr. Coffin followed on furlough in 1911. This left Miss Mullikin to carry on alone. Early in 1912 Mr A.L. Buchwalter returned from furlough and was posted to Nyakatsapa. At the Conference in October, 1913 Mr Buchwalter was transferred to Old Umtali and Mr R.B. Wallace was appointed to Nyakatsapa. Miss Mullikin who had been transferred to Old Umtali for a year, returned to Nyakatsapa and remained there until she left on furlough in 1914. Meanwhile in 1909 Dr. Samuel Gurney opened Mrewa mission and worked there until 1915.⁹⁵ In 1919 two workers of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, Miss Emma D. Nourse and Miss Sadie Rexrode, were appointed to Mrewa and opened up work for girls. Dormitories were soon needed and built. A boys' boarding department was also established.⁹⁶ In 1921 both lady workers were lost to the mission when Miss Rexrode died on 22nd January and Miss Nourse married Mr Johannes Theron of Salisbury.⁹⁷ Due to the death of Miss Rexrode, the girls' work at Mrewa was discontinued for the remainder of the year.⁹⁸ In 1922 Miss Mullikin was appointed to take charge of the education work at Mrewa centre.⁹⁹ In April, 1923 Miss E.A. Hess was sent to Mrewa and assisted in the work.¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile, in 1911 a new mission station was opened at Mtoko¹⁰¹ but it was not until 1915 that Dr. Samuel Gurney arrived at Mtoko to take charge of the new mission station. In 1916 Mr and Mrs Paisley were appointed to Mtoko.¹⁰² In 1922 the Revd W. Bourgaize was appointed to Mtoko.¹⁰³ During the year Dr. Samuel Gurney opened Nyadiri mission.¹⁰⁴ The work at this mission, however, was begun in 1923.¹⁰⁵

We noted in Chapter 1 that Bishop G.W.H. Knight-Bruce opened the first Anglican mission station at St Augustine's near Penhalonga in 1891. Since St Augustine's was the most important Anglican mission station during this period, we shall consider some of the developments at this mission in some detail.

In March, 1897 Anglican missionaries in Rhodesia proposed to establish an industrial college at St Augustine's. The first letters about the college reached England in April and on 4th May, the Committee of the Mashonaland Diocese Association in

England passed a resolution to make St Augustine's an industrial college as a memorial to Bishop Knight-Bruce who had died in December, 1896. By the beginning of 1898 with the assistance of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, sufficient funds had been collected and volunteers had offered themselves to lay the foundations of the new enterprise. The first band of volunteers met for a Retreat at Wolverhampton in April, 1898 and by the middle of June, they were on their way to Rhodesia.¹⁰⁶ The first party of four consisted of the Revd W.J. Roxburgh who had wide experience at the Trinity College (Oxford) Mission in East London; Mr Ronald Alexander from St Augustine's College, Canterbury; Brothers W. Johnson and W.A. Davies, both from Lichfield.¹⁰⁷ At Durban, they were joined by Brother S. Smith and two catechists, John Nzipo and Solomon Mate.¹⁰⁸ They arrived at St Augustine's on 15th August, 1898.¹⁰⁹ By the end of August, they commenced construction of permanent buildings. They hired a contractor to do the actual building but all the staff took part in making and burning bricks, digging out stones for the foundations and clearing the ground. The first buildings consisted of a ten-roomed bungalow for the College, a cottage for the Principal and a church.¹¹⁰ In March, 1900 a total of 11 pupils were enrolled.¹¹¹ In December, 1900 the Revd Edward Harold Etheridge was appointed Principal of the College.¹¹² The enrolment increased from 43 in 1901¹¹³ to 90 in 1903¹¹⁴ to 115 in 1906.¹¹⁵ At the end of 1907 the staff consisted of the Revd E.H. Etheridge, the Revd Ronald Alexander, the Revd H. Buck, Brother Shervan Smith and Mr C. Hill.¹¹⁶ At the end of 1912 Mr Etheridge left St Augustine's to become Archdeacon of Mashonaland and Director of Native Missions and Canon John Hallward and the Revd H. Buck carried on the work for two years. In 1914 two priests of the Community of the Resurrection arrived at St Augustine's and Fr H. Barnes was appointed Principal of the College.¹¹⁷ In 1915 the Community of the Resurrection, Grahamstown, took over the mission and in 1918 opened a Teachers' College.¹¹⁸

Meanwhile, in 1904 adjoining St Augustine's, the Anglicans opened a boarding school for girls at St Monica. The enrolment increased from 8 in May, 1904¹¹⁹ to 12 in August, 1904.¹²⁰ The enrolment increased further from 47 girls in September, 1906¹²¹ to 69 boarders in December, 1907.¹²² For fourteen years (1904-1918) Miss Annie Dalby and a staff of lady workers carried on the work at St Monica. In 1918 the Sisters of the Community of the Resurrection took over the school.¹²³

Meanwhile, early in 1899 a catechist named John Mazoe commenced work which developed into All Saints' Mission, Wreningham, some eleven or twelve miles from Enkeldoorn. He started by building a hut and a school. The Revd J.H. Selmes took

charge in September, 1899 but was invalided home in November, 1899. He was replaced temporarily by Archdeacon James Hay Upcher who had named Wreningham mission after his old home in England.¹²⁴ The Revd Arthur Shearly Cripps who had arrived in Rhodesia in January, 1901 was posted to Wreningham on 15th March, 1901.¹²⁵ He erected a school, a dormitory and a church.¹²⁶ At the close of 1906 the new church at Wreningham was completed and early in 1907 Bishop William Gaul arrived to consecrate it.¹²⁷ In 1908 Miss Agnes Saunders and Miss Mary Prior arrived at Wreningham to assist Cripps.¹²⁸ Cripps left Wreningham in 1911 to establish the Church of the Five Wounds (Maronda Mashanu) which was dedicated by Archdeacon Etheridge in December, 1913.¹²⁹

We noted in Chapter 1 that Epiphany and St Faith's mission near Rusape were started by the Zulu catechist, Frank Ziqubu in 1891. In 1899 the catechist, John Kapuya, a former pupil of Bernard Mizeki, was put in charge. On 1st January, 1902 Archdeacon Upcher took over the two mission stations¹³⁰ with Dr. A. Dudley Owen as medical missionary and John Kapuya as interpreter and catechist.¹³¹ The Revd Edgar Lloyd who had arrived in Rhodesia in 1899, had at first worked as a layman for the Railway Mission and had founded Plumtree School in 1901,¹³² was transferred to St Faith's in 1903.¹³³ St Faith's church was built in 1906 and was enlarged in 1908-9 and in 1913.¹³⁴ In 1907 the first sewing class for women was started at the mission and was taught by Mutwa Lily, the widow of Bernard Mizeki who had been trained at St Monica. Lady missionaries arrived soon afterwards to expand the work. In 1909 they were joined by Miss Elaine Brewin who married Edgar Lloyd in 1910.¹³⁵ In 1916 two Sisters of the Community of the Resurrection arrived at St Faith's and in July, the Revd W.J. Clissold joined the staff.¹³⁶ In 1923 the Revd and Mrs Lloyd introduced spinning, weaving and pottery at St Faith's.¹³⁷

St Bernard's mission, Macheke, was founded by Archdeacon Upcher on 5th May, 1907. At the end of the year the Revd E.J. Simpson was appointed to take charge of the mission. He built the church of St Cross, the foundation of which was laid on 12th June, 1913 and was dedicated on 19th May, 1921.¹³⁸

St David's mission, Bonda, originally opened in 1907 as an outstation of St Augustine's, became a separate mission in 1910 under the Revd G.E.P. Broderick.¹³⁹ In 1913 the permanent buildings consisted of a large church of burnt brick capable of seating 450 people, a Superintendent's house, also of brick and a large brick dormitory for African girls who were being trained in housework. In addition, there was a dispensary. During the year, 312 pupils were enrolled and the teaching staff consisted of Mr Broderick and four African assistants.¹⁴⁰ In 1916 the Revd S.J. Christelow succeeded Mr Broderick as head of the mission.¹⁴¹

The Anglicans opened St Mary's mission, Hunyani, 12 miles from Salisbury, in October, 1905.¹⁴² They opened St Joseph's, the oldest outstation of St Mary's, in 1910 and St Peter's in the Chihota Reserve, in 1915.¹⁴³ On 11th July, 1919 Sister Annie Dalby and her staff who had been transferred from St Monica, took charge of the work at St Mary's.¹⁴⁴ The enrolment increased from 80 in May, 1923¹⁴⁵ to 128 in November, 1923.¹⁴⁶

The Anglican missionary, the Revd J. Gillanders, started work at St Columba's mission in the Bulawayo Location in 1897. He laid the foundation stone of St Columba's Church in September, 1898.¹⁴⁷ By 1900 there was a day school of 40 pupils and a night school of 30 pupils. In addition to the church, the buildings consisted of a school hut, another hut for resident girls, a priest's house and a catechist's house. Mrs Gillanders taught sewing and gardening in the school and in 1903 Miss Sanders arrived from Cape Town to assist her. She went on leave in 1905 and on her return, she went to work at St Monica's school. Miss Kate Gibbons took her place at St Columba's. By 1907 Miss Cullis and Miss Robinson were in charge of St Columba's boarding school.¹⁴⁸ When Revd Gillanders left St Columba's in 1910 to work in the Diocese of Grahamstown, he was succeeded by the Revd H. Quinn, the Revd R.B. Davies (1910-11) and the Revd T.O. Beattie (1911-16).¹⁴⁹ During Beattie's absence in 1911 the Sisters of the Community of the Resurrection arrived in Bulawayo and began work at St Columba's.¹⁵⁰

Meanwhile, in 1902 the Revd J.W. Leary opened St Aidan's mission, Bembesi near the Lochard Siding about thirty-seven miles from Bulawayo. He erected a church and some buildings for industrial and educational work. After his transfer in 1908 the mission was at various times under the charge of the Revds A.C. Shum, P.A. de Wit, H. Buck, J.L. Williams and Mr W. Hatfield. In June, 1916 the Revd G.E.P. Broderick was transferred from St David's mission, Bonda, and took charge of both St Columba's and St Aidan's.¹⁵¹ Broderick resigned in 1920 and went into educational work, first at Cedric College in Bulawayo and then at Domboshava Government School.¹⁵² In May, 1920 the Revd J.W. Wilson took charge of both missions.¹⁵³

The Anglicans also opened St Francis Mission in the Selukwe Reserve. The work at this mission was under the care of the Revd H.R. Quinn (July, 1912); the Revd S.J. Christelow (1914); the Revd J.W. Wilson (1916) and Canon Ashworth (1920). In August, 1921 the Revd W.J. Clissold took charge of the mission.¹⁵⁴

The South African General Mission entered the Rhodesian mission field when a party of three men - Messrs. Raney, John Coupland and Dudley Kidd - arrived from South Africa to pioneer missionary work in Rhodesia in March, 1897.¹⁵⁵ They selected a site at Rusitu near the Mozambique border. When Mr Coupland died on 13th

November, 1897 Mr Raney soldiered on until the arrival of Mr Douglas Wood at the mission in 1900. In 1901 Mr Raney was invalided home to Cape Town. In 1902, however, he returned to Rusitu.¹⁵⁶ In 1904 Mr I.E. Hatch arrived at the mission and in 1908 a boarding school was started.¹⁵⁷ In 1910 Mr and Mrs G.F. Barnes arrived at Rusitu and in 1914 Mr and Mrs Howells arrived from England to join the staff.¹⁵⁸

The Associated Churches of Christ in New Zealand began work in Zimbabwe in 1898 when Mr John Sheriff arrived at Bulawayo and established a church at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Main Street. The first New Zealand-sponsored missionaries - Mr and Mrs F.L. Hadfield - sailed from New Zealand on 30th April, 1906 and arrived at Bulawayo on 22 June, 1906. They worked among the Europeans, Coloureds and Africans in and around Bulawayo. In 1912 accompanied by Mr W.W. Mansill, a recently-arrived recruit from New Zealand, Mr Hadfield travelled to the Lundi Reserve to set about establishing work there. The centre chosen, however, proved unhealthy and both men suffered gravely from sickness leading to the death of Mr Mansill in 1913. All workers then withdrew to Bulawayo leaving African evangelists to continue with the work. In 1919 the missionaries made another start at Dadaya which proved to be healthy.¹⁵⁹

The African Methodist Episcopal Church, an 'Ethiopian type' church originating in the United States of America, entered the Zimbabwe mission field in the last decade of the 19th century. The expansion of this Church from the United States to South Africa in particular and to Southern Africa generally during the last quarter of the 19th Century, has been well studied by Chirenje¹⁶⁰ and no further elaboration is called for except to say that this Church entered the Zimbabwe mission field when the Revd M.C. Ncube founded an A.M.E.C. station in Bulawayo in 1896. This pioneer mission, however suffered a setback in 1898 when Revd Ncube joined the Dutch Reformed Church. The Bulawayo mission, however, was revived in 1900 when the A.M.E.C. in South Africa sent the Revd S.J. Mabote to take charge of the ailing station.¹⁶¹ In 1903 Bishop L.J. Coppin, the first resident Bishop of the A.M.E.C. in Southern Africa, sent the Revd M.D. Makgatho to Rhodesia.¹⁶² Revd Makgatho experienced some difficulties in obtaining land for his Church because the Rhodesian authorities and representatives of the white missionary societies who had followed the activities of the Ethiopians with concern, were 'opposed to the A.M.E. Church on the grounds that its agents might politicise Rhodesian blacks. Consequently, when Reverend Makgatho applied to the Bulawayo municipality for a plot of land on which to build a school, white Protestant missionaries influenced the municipal council to reject the application'.¹⁶³ In spite of these difficulties, Makgatho managed to purchase some land from the Riversdale Estate near Bulawayo on which he built a church and school; by 1907 the school had twelve students.¹⁶⁴

The Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland sent its first missionary to Rhodesia, the Revd J.B. Radasi, in 1904. Radasi was a *Mfengu* from Cape Colony who was converted to Christianity whilst in America with a group of musicians. Upon completing theological training in Scotland, he was charged with the task of extending the Free Church of Scotland's Southern African mission field to the Ndebele.¹⁶⁵ Radasi arrived at Bulawayo on 21st December, 1904. Working in Bulawayo was a young man, Stephen Hlazo who, on his first visit home to Bembesi, reported to his father and others the arrival of a Presbyterian minister from Scotland who was looking for a place in which to settle. As a result, a deputation headed by the Ndebele chief Ngege, left for Bulawayo to interview Radasi. After the interview, they offered Radasi twenty acres of land in the Ntabazinduna Reserve on which to begin work. Radasi accepted the offer. The new mission was named Ingwenya, after the river which flowed nearby.¹⁶⁶ In 1908 Radasi extended his work to the *Mfengu* location on the lower Bembesi river and to Koce.¹⁶⁷ In 1909 a deputy, the Revd J.R. Mackay, was sent out to Rhodesia from Scotland. After four years' work, there was a congregation of about 100 at Ingwenya with 40 children in the school, all taught by Radasi himself.¹⁶⁸ In 1921 when two deputies were sent to inquire into the progress of the mission, they found that there were 64 members in full communion and a congregation of 200 with five preaching stations and schools.¹⁶⁹

The pioneers of the Church of Sweden Mission (CSM), the Revds Axel Liljestrand and Adolf Hellden and their families arrived in Rhodesia in 1903. Because of illness due to malaria which had claimed the life of Mrs Hellden in November, Liljestrand and Hellden decided reluctantly to return to Sweden. But before Liljestrand left Rhodesia, he purchased on behalf of the C.S.M., Mnene Farm consisting of 6,000 acres in South Belingwe from the Matabele Mining Company for £600.¹⁷⁰ On 4th February, 1908 the C.S.M. decided to send three missionaries to Rhodesia: Axel Liljestrand, Axel Hammar and Wilhelm Skold. In March, 1908 Liljestrand, Hammar and Skold left South Africa for Rhodesia. They arrived at Bulawayo by mid-May and reached Mnene on 11th June. On 7th October, Liljestrand died of malaria. In spite of the death of Liljestrand, the C.S.M. decided that Hammar and Skold should continue their work in Rhodesia. Hammar, however, did not serve for long in Rhodesia; he returned to Sweden in July, 1910. From 1910 to 1913 Skold served as the only Swedish missionary in Rhodesia. In 1913 the C.S.M. sent Pastor Josef Sandstrom with his family to Mnene. He served at Mnene from August, 1913 to May, 1915. Meanwhile, in 1914 Pastor Josef Othenius and his wife arrived at Mnene. As Sandstrom and Othenius now worked at Mnene, Skold felt free to return to Sweden. He stayed in Sweden for two years, studied theology, married and returned to Mnene with his wife in 1916. Because of ill-health, Othenius returned to South Africa in

1917. In 1918 the C.S.M. sent Pastor Sigfrid Eriksson to replace Othenius. After some months, Eriksson fell ill and had to go to Johannesburg for medical care and rest.

In 1919 Eriksson and his family were able to return to Mnene where they stayed until 1923. While Skold was away on furlough in Sweden from November, 1921 to June, 1923 Eriksson was the only male Swedish missionary at Mnenc. When Skold returned, Eriksson was sick again and had to return to Sweden with his family. In 1923, however, the mission was reinforced with two valuable missionaries, Pastor Gustav Bernander and Mrs E. Bernander.¹⁷¹ Meanwhile, in 1920 the C.S.M. opened a mission station at Masase.¹⁷²

This concludes our survey of mission stations which were established by various Christian denominations in Zimbabwe from the end of the Shona rising in 1897 to 1923.

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Chapter 4

The African Response to Christianity in Zimbabwe, 1898-1923.¹

We saw in Chapter 1 that Christian missionaries made some converts in Matabeleland and Mashonaland between 1891 and the Ndebele and Shona risings of 1896. We noted that whatever success the missionaries had achieved in converting the Ndebele and Shona to Christianity during this period, was destroyed in the conflagration of the Ndebele and Shona risings of 1896. After the suppression of the two risings, the missionaries had to pick up the pieces and start *de novo*. In this Chapter, we shall examine the African response to Christianity in Zimbabwe from the end of the Shona rising in 1897 to 1923. We shall consider the African response to Christianity in Zimbabwe during this period firstly from the missionaries' point of view and secondly, from the point of view of the Africans themselves. The African response to Christianity in Zimbabwe during this period, was best summed up by the editor of the *Zambesi Mission Record*. 'When he first settles among these natives', he wrote in 1910, 'the missionary is regarded with suspicion and dislike. He has come-so they think-to rob them of their deeply-cherished customs; to upset their social economy; to turn the hearts of the children against their fathers, and of fathers against their children; and worst of all, to fetter them with the creed of the hated whites'.² We shall begin with the African response to Christianity in Matabeleland.

I

The African Response to Christianity in Matabeleland

The missionaries found the Ndebele very difficult to evangelise. Firstly, there was a general suspicion among the Ndebele of the motives of the missionaries in coming to evangelise them. The Jesuit missionary, Fr J. O'Neil, for example, wrote in 1909:

To persuade these people that we have come among them for their good, have left kith and kin for their sakes, is simply impossible. *They* would never dream of doing anything of the sort for others, why, then, should we have done it?... the majority refuse to listen to the priest's word, or, at any rate to believe him. He is only seeking his own ends; why should they be gulled by him?... As they would never think of devoting themselves to the care of

others without receiving a liberal reward, they are persuaded that we too must be working only for remuneration... The fact is, most of these people are firmly convinced that we have come among them for worldly pelf, in fact, are rolling in wealth, and no matter how much they may receive, they consider that we are very niggardly, since we give so little in comparison with what they suppose us to receive... The great majority persist in retaining their preconceived ideas and nothing will shake them.³

In 1916 O'Neil wrote:

As might have been expected, the old people listened to the missionary with incredulity and contempt; in fact, from the very first, they distrusted the missionary whom they regarded as an emissary sent by their white rulers to divorce them from their customs and traditions. To the grown-ups he spoke in vain and he knew it.⁴

The second obstacle, according to O'Neil, was 'the gross and sensual nature' of the Ndebele. 'The things of the flesh, these and these only', he wrote, 'are what they appreciate and seek after'. He added:

It is useless to talk to them about their soul and its destiny. Most of them do not believe in the existence of an immortal soul. Death is for them the end of all things, so why shouldn't they make the most of life?... To talk to them about Heaven and Hell is quite futile. Who has seen Heaven? Who has seen Hell? that is all they say. And if the Word of God Himself is quoted, they laugh at it. *Amanga Kodwa*- 'It is all lies'. How often one has heard this! If they were to see some great material benefit following upon Baptism, a number would ask to be baptised ... but they have no intention of giving up their pagan habits and submitting to the law of God and His Church for the sake of future happiness, or to escape future punishment which they disbelieve.⁵

Thirdly, the Ndebele were strongly attached to their customs and traditions. O'Neil wrote in 1910: 'It is practically impossible to make any real impression on the adults. With rare exceptions they are unchangeable, and will not give up their pagan and barbarous customs. The young are much more pliant...' ⁶ Recalling how the missionaries had saved the Ndebele from starvation in the wake of the rising of 1896, the *Zambesi Mission Record* commented in April, 1909:

It might be thought that the inhabitants of Empandeni would have come in crowds to those who had saved them from death, have listened to their teaching and expressed a wish to embrace Christianity. But the Matabele are not so easily converted. Once the peril of death was removed, they returned to their old ways and, though they continued to come to the Sunday instructions, they absolutely refused to abandon their pagan lives and habits, and to allow their children to be instructed for Baptism.⁷

In October, 1910 the *Zambesi Mission Record* commented in a similar vein that when the starvation which followed the Ndebele rising of 1896, had passed, it was 'confidently hoped that a sense of gratitude would induce the people to lend a ready ear to the teaching of the missionaries, and that they would at least allow their children to be instructed and baptised. But to the natives of Matabeleland, gratitude is an unknown virtue. They are ruled by their passions only, and of all their vices, pride is the most dominant. The Fathers exhorted; but they exhorted in vain. The sensual savages had no intention of embracing the Truth and giving up the ways of their forefathers. After the lapse of many months, those who had done so were but a handful'.⁸

The same picture emerged throughout Matabeleland. The Wesleyan Methodist missionary, the Revd H. Oswald Brigg of Tegwani, wrote in 1905:

One of the discouraging features of Christianity in Matabeleland is found in the obstinate opposition of the old people, who refuse to listen to us or let their children attend church or school, whilst others who do allow their children to learn the New Way will not hear us themselves and, moreover, are determined that the young shall keep to the old revolting customs in spite of what they learn from us.⁹

Miss H. Frances Davidson of the Brethren In Christ Church at Matopo mission echoed these sentiments. In 1915 she wrote:

The difficulty generally was that, although they believed the Word, they were not willing to take the Way. The darkness seemed too dense, the effort required was too great and the transformation was too absolute for these old people, rocked in the cradle of paganism for generations. It is the younger generation that are chiefly benefitted by the mission work. Sometimes some of the others, seeing this, will say, 'I am too old; you should have come sooner'.¹⁰

The Seventh Day Adventists had a similar experience at Solusi. 'The non-Christian African villagers', Robinson wrote, 'did not always welcome the missionary with open arms. It was convenient not to have to walk thirty miles to Bulawayo for medical aid. While happy to have a store where they could buy essential trade goods, they did not flock into the church. To accept the white man's religion was a step they were in no hurry to take. Particularly was this true of the older people'.¹¹

But the greatest hindrance to Christianity in Matabeleland, according to the missionaries, was the institution of polygamy. O'Neil, for example, wrote in 1905: 'With regard to the older pagans, there does not seem to be much hope of converting them to Christianity. Polygamy prevails among them all, and the last thing a man could be persuaded to do would be to give up any of his wives.'¹² This was perhaps best illustrated by an old man who told Miss Davidson one day after the Sunday service at Matopo mission: 'I believe all you say, and that Christ is able to save us, but what can I do? My hands are tied. I have five wives'. Miss Davidson said nothing had been said in the service about the plurality of wives but the old man realised 'instinctively that it was an obstacle in his way'.¹³ 'The man who has a plurality of wives', Fr Richard Sykes wrote in 1915, 'is practically hopeless as a prospective Christian convert'.¹⁴ 'So determined is the adherence of the natives to the institution of polygamy', he wrote in 1902, 'that there have been and are in South Africa missionaries who would actually allow those who have more than one wife to retain them, and yet admit the men to Baptism, though they would not permit them to marry a second wife after baptism'.¹⁵ But what was wrong with polygamy?

According to Fr Peter Prestage, polygamy was wrong because 'when a man's heart is divided between three or four women, sometimes nine or ten, or even twenty, his love for any one of them must be little indeed, and his affection for his children still less. His obligations to his wives sit very lightly upon him, and his duties to his children are all but ignored. It will be readily understood that a union of one man with many women is not productive of peace and concord in a native family, but that, on the contrary, it leads to much jealousy, dislike, and quarrelling. If, then, conjugal affection is diminished in proportion to the multiplication of wives, it follows that a custom which favours such multiplication must be bad and, where abolition is possible, should not be tolerated.'¹⁶

O'Neil concurred, arguing that 'where a man has two or three wives, it is impossible for the true family spirit to exist. The husband dares not show affection for anyone of his wives, since, if he were to do so, the others would be jealous. For a like reason a father cannot manifest love for one of his children.' He added that where polygamy was the fashion, there was no real family establishment:

Each wife has her own hut and kitchen, and she lives with her children, often almost a stranger to the man who calls himself her husband. She is not considered his partner in life and his equal; she is rather part of his goods and chattels, a 'thing' to labour for his comfort, and help him to grow rich by the work of her hands. Hence there can be but little love between husband and wife; hence too, the mothers teach their children rather to fear than to love and obey their fathers.¹⁷

In addition to being a morally-reprehensible institution, Prestage also regarded polygamy as the major cause of idleness among the Ndebele male population. He wrote in 1901:

The more wives a man has, the easier it is for him to get his food supply. A man with six wives will have seven gardens, one for himself and one for each of his wives. Such a man will contribute one-seventh part of the work required for feeding his household, while he himself is fed with the food raised by each of his wives in turn. The wives' supply of food is daily used till it is exhausted, before the husband's larder is drawn upon. A man with his food supply provided for him every day becomes lazy in direct ratio to the number of his wives. For if he has food enough, can pay his hut tax, he cares for little else.¹⁸

The Wesleyan missionary, the Revd J.W. Stanlake, also believed that African men contracted polygamous marriages in order to have more wives to work for them.¹⁹

The missionaries also denounced the concomitant of polygamy, the *lobola* system. Fr Richard Sykes, for example, said that *lobola* was simply buying and selling of women:

The wives by native custom, are bought for so many head of cattle, the great source of wealth and importance amongst the wild native tribes of South Africa, as indeed amongst all primitive races. The man, therefore, amongst them, who can purchase a number of wives, proves his wealth, his social position and his power to indulge in luxuries, and so secures for himself importance in the eyes of his less fortunate neighbours.²⁰

Prestage concurred, arguing that *lobola* was frequently indistinguishable from 'the purchase of a wife by a man for purpose of begetting children, among whom the girls, when marriageable, are disposed of to obtain *lobola*, which is used again to purchase

other wives, the final object being to acquire position and substance through the possession of women and children'. He said that in Matabeleland, 'the native, in many instances, enters into marriage as a business speculation, and to acquire wealth through the medium of women, just as the white man engages in and carries on commerce through the medium of money' and that the delivery of *lobola* was indistinguishable from bartering for a wife or trafficking in human beings. He denounced the *lobola* system on the ground that it 'gives too great a power to parents and guardians over their daughters or wards, whose lives may be rendered miserable through unjust interference in their marriages brought about by allurements to profit accruing through the custom of *lobola*'.²¹

Among the Kalanga, missionaries encountered the most stubborn resistance to Christianity from the adherents of the *shumba* cult. 'Among our pagan savages', the Jesuit missionary at Empandeni, Fr E. Biehler, wrote in 1911, 'the devil is King, and that under many shapes. And a bad, if not the worst, form of his worship is the one maintained by the *shumba* women. The prestige of these *shumba* women is so great that they are the absolute leaders in any movement... Once a girl has been initiated, there is no hope of her ever becoming a Christian'.²²

What, then, was the *shumba* cult? The Kalanga believed in the existence of a special class of ancestral spirits called *izishumba* which wandered about in the air seeking to enter into some female member of the clan or family to which they belonged while on earth. When a *shumba* spirit wished to enter into a girl, it did so by making the girl seriously ill. When this happened, the relatives summoned a diviner to find out the cause of the illness. If the girl was afflicted by a *shumba* spirit, she would not recover until she was formally possessed by the spirit. In that case, the relatives called one of the principal *shumba* women to 'raise the spirit' in the girl. According to O'Neil, a *shumba* girl was always under the influence of the woman who 'raised the spirit' in her. He added:

She must marry only into the family of this woman and must only take part in the *shumba* dances performed at this hag's kraal. Hence the more followers a *shumba* woman has, the more important she is in the estimation of the people, and hence the anxiety of these wretches to obtain as many proselytes as possible. It is not, then, surprising that the missionaries have no more bitter opponents than these *shumba* women. The latter do everything they possibly can to hinder girls from embracing Christianity, for they know well that no good Christian girl will ever consent to be included in their ranks, just as, on the other hand, it is practically impossible to effect the conversion of a *shumba* woman, even on her deathbed.²³

So far, we have examined in general, the African response to Christianity in Matabeleland. But how did the chiefs respond to the Christian message? The response of the chiefs to Christianity in Matabeleland, was best illustrated by Tshitshi, Gampu Sithole and Hlугanisa.

Chief Tshitshi lived in a Reserve near the Jesuit mission at Embakwe, about eight miles from Empandeni. He was one of those Kalanga chiefs who vacillated between embracing and resisting Christianity. When Embakwe mission was opened in 1902 he was not favourably disposed towards the missionaries and their work; consequently, the attendance of children at the newly-opened school left much to be desired. Shortly afterwards, however, he changed his attitude towards the missionaries. He went out of his way to make sure that every child in his village attended school daily and also urged the headmen of other villages to send their children to school. The fact that he was known to be well disposed towards the missionaries and their work, produced a change of feeling in the hearts of many who used to be distinctly hostile to Christianity. The attendance of children at the school on the Reserve more than doubled and several children said that they wished to be instructed and baptised. Among those who were baptised, was Tshitshi's nephew.²⁴

The progress made at Embakwe was demonstrated by the fact that when O'Neil arrived at the mission at the end of July, 1907 the Christian congregation numbered 126 souls. There were no catechumens under instruction for baptism at the time but within a month or two a fair number including half a dozen young men expressed a desire to become Christians. Others followed their example and by the end of the year, 24 had been admitted for baptism and there were over twenty names on the list of catechumens under instruction for baptism. In January, 1908 the Christian congregation at Embakwe numbered about 140 souls and O'Neil hoped that this number would increase before long. 'All our young converts', he wrote, 'are satisfactory, many of them exceedingly good. The young men in particular are most exemplary, and several of them are doing their best to induce their friends and relations to give up the pernicious habits in which they have long been sunk, and to listen to the words of the *umfundisi*'. He added:

Very few, indeed, of our Christians ever miss Mass on Sunday, though many of them have to come three miles or more in order to be present at the Holy Sacrifice; one, in fact, comes Sunday after Sunday from a kraal over seven miles away. Most of the catechumens also like to assist, and now the school-chapel is almost as full as it could be at the Sunday Mass. In a short time we shall not know where to put the people. At the pagans' service, too, there is sometimes such a large muster that many have to remain outside.²⁵

Statistics showed that from the opening of the mission in September, 1902 to the end of July, 1908 a Christian congregation of 190 souls had been formed at Embakwe. O'Neil was very pleased with the progress that had been made at the mission taking into account the difficulties under which the missionaries had laboured and the persistent antagonism of the old people. Then came a rebuff. Tshitshi who had been most friendly and had even promised to allow his children to become Christians if they wished to do so, suddenly turned around and not only forbade them to ask for instruction, but even kept every boy and girl in his village from attending the school the missionaries had opened on the Reserve. Others speedily followed his example and for a while a wave of opposition swept over the villages around the mission. According to O'Neil, Tshitshi dreaded the influence of Christianity among his people, shrewdly suspecting that once they were converted, he would lose his control over them. On the other hand, he wanted to keep on good terms with the missionaries. He therefore resorted to 'subterfuge, making an outward pretence of friendliness, and vehemently protesting that he wanted the children to be taught at school, and that he was not standing in the way of their conversion to Christianity, while at home he simply terrorised them' and forbade them to go to the mission. A long interview with Tshitshi on 27th February, 1908 appeared to make a real impression upon him. He renewed all his promises most solemnly, and for a while kept his word; he sent two of his sons for instruction and made sure that every boy and girl in his village attended school daily. Others immediately followed his example. The two schools- one at Embakwe itself and the other on the Reserve-were full daily; parents who had for years opposed the baptism of their children, surrendered and for weeks O'Neil was kept busy instructing and preparing young men, grown-up girls and children for baptism. Within three months, no fewer than 31 had been added to the congregation and several more were under instruction for baptism. The Christians were delighted at the turn of events and some of them predicted that before very long there would scarcely be one unbaptised child in the neighbourhood. But once more Tshitshi broke his word and cast all his promises to the winds. O'Neil said that Tshitshi was no fool. He knew perfectly well that if his young daughters were baptised, their elder sisters who were already or would soon be of marriageable age, would give him no peace until he allowed them to embrace Christianity. He had no real objection to his sons being instructed and baptised; in fact, one of his sons had already been baptised. O'Neil added:

But to permit his daughters to put themselves under a law which forbids them to contract marriage with a pagan - that is quite another matter. If he can, he will hinder their doing this, and so once more he has forbidden both boys and

girls to attend school. Interviews have been held between us, and the old fox has told lies and made all kinds of promises and protestations; but he won't act. He still makes a pretence of friendship, but it is certain that he is incensed against us, since he knows that every boy and girl in his kraal, and also in a still larger kraal on the Native Reserve, is longing for baptism. It will be a stern fight, but I feel confident that the children will win in the long run if they remain steadfast to their determination. The movement in favour of Christianity is now too strong and too widespread to be turned back.²⁶

Gampu Sithole was by all accounts one of the most powerful Ndebele chiefs before and after the fall of the Ndebele kingdom in the Anglo-Ndebele war of 1893. He commanded one of the Ndebele *impis* in the struggle against the British in 1893. His experiences during the war thoroughly convinced him that it was futile to continue the struggle against the British because they were too strong. He therefore remained loyal to the new regime in the Ndebele rising of 1896. The Administration valued his loyalty and rewarded him with large herds of cattle.²⁷

Gampu personally went to the Revd J.W. Stanlake, and requested a teacher at his village. 'He was quite convinced', Stanlake wrote, 'that his nation was in the dark, and was desirous that his children should come to the schools. From Gampu we are expecting great things'.²⁸ Clearly, Gampu had reconciled himself to White rule. According to the Wesleyan Methodist missionary, the Revd C.H. Temple, Gampu had accepted the advent of the English 'philosophically' and clearly saw the futility of 'attempting to arrest the march of civilisation. This philosophical spirit he has endeavoured to spread among the other chiefs of the country'.²⁹ But while Gampu was prepared to live at peace with the White man and shrewdly recognised the importance of missionary education for his children - two of his sons were at Tegnani and he wanted his heir to be highly educated - he did not embrace Christianity. 'Can you', he asked the Revd H. Oswald Brigg, in his own metaphorical way, 'change the growth of the horns of an ox when he is already old - can the horns which have grown backwards for many years be suddenly changed to grow forwards?'³⁰ Thus, while Gampu believed that Christianity was good for young people, he did not embrace it himself.

Chief Hlughanisa had received missionaries of the Brethren In Christ Church very warmly when they arrived to open Matopo mission in 1898. According to Miss Davidson, he was 'ready to receive the gifts of the white man, whether from officials, missionaries, or anyone else. He was also quite willing that a school should be started in his village; for would not this make his people wiser and more able to secure the

good things of the earth? But the White man's religion, he would have none of it himself'. He remained 'a rank heathen, greedy and superstitious, and a lover of wives and beer'.³¹

Clearly, the missionaries had a hard task before them. O'Neil said that naturally there were trials and difficulties in missionary work. 'These', he wrote, 'are expected as a matter of course, for the enemy of mankind never relinquishes his empire over the souls of men without a struggle'.³² The Revd J.W. Stanlake echoed these sentiments. In March 1902, he wrote:

The conversion of the heathen is a slow process. True, I have witnessed strange scenes; natives prostrate in seemingly uncontrollable grief; but this I would not call conversion, for it may have been the first service attended by them, and moreover, their future conduct shows that whatever may have been the cause of such demonstrations, it was not from a sense of sin as would naturally lead to a desire for a better life ... A sense of sin and the need of a Saviour can only be to the native mind a gradual awakening, hence conversational methods are more likely to lead to more definite results than what is generally understood by preaching. Our work is similar to the submarine engineer; it is out of sight. We are undermining. Sometimes the unexpected happens. Our work is put back, and we must start drilling again; but we do not despair.³³

II

The African Response to Christianity in Mashonaland

Initially, missionaries found the Shona very difficult to evangelise. Firstly, there was a general suspicion among the Shona of the motives of the missionaries in coming to evangelise them. This was best illustrated by the editor of *Zambesi Mission Record* who wrote in 1906:

To these people the idea of self-sacrifice is altogether foreign. They cannot understand how men should leave their fatherland and all who are nearest and dearest to them, and settle in a distant country among utter strangers, and endure all manner of discomforts, simply for the purpose of winning souls for God. Even after the missionary has resided in their midst for years, and

devoted himself day after day to the work of their regeneration, he is often looked at askance by many who are persuaded that self-interest must have brought him - as it brings other white men - to their country.³⁴

Not only were the Shona generally suspicious of the motives of the missionaries in coming to evangelise them; several Shona chiefs strongly opposed Christianity. At Nenguwo mission, Chief Nenguwo and many of his people decided to leave the mission station rather than embrace Christianity. At Kwenda mission, Chief Kwenda strongly opposed Christianity. The Wesleyan Methodist Synod Minutes for 1898 stated:

Here we have been hindered the whole year by the Chief who has forbidden his people to attend our services. But we have not forsaken our post ... We have done our best to conciliate the chief and so put an end to his opposition and we hope that we may shortly succeed.³⁵

Kwenda, however, persisted in his opposition to Christianity. The Kwenda mission report for 1900 stated: 'Here we have had uphill work. The Chief, perceiving now the effects of the new faith, is strongly opposed to us. After trying unsuccessfully to drive us away, he has decided to move himself.'³⁶

At Ranga mission, Chief Ranga also strongly resisted Christianity. The report for 1902 stated: 'The outlook here is anything but bright. We have continued this work for years in the face of the secret opposition of a wily and powerful chief. At both church and school the attendance is small.'³⁷ Chief Ranga persisted in his opposition to Christianity and in 1904 the Revd John White wrote that while many of Ranga's subjects were kindly disposed towards mission work, they were afraid to express their friendliness because of his known enmity. Many dared not attend the services. He added: 'When I speak to him, he always denies any opposition, but immediately I am gone, he frustrates the work in every way.'³⁸

Opposition to Christianity was also evident at Hartleyton. 'The work at this mission', the Revd Avon Walton wrote to Hartley on 28th December, 1900, 'is being carried on in the face of great difficulties and discouragements. Only one petty chief is really favourable to us. Zvimba, the paramount Chief, while professing friendliness, is, I fear, opposed to us at heart, and of course his vassals follow suit.'³⁹ This sort of opposition to Christianity was widespread in Lomagundi District as a whole. In 1908 the Revd W. T. Grantham wrote:

The people of Lomagundi are recognised by all who have worked amongst them to be uncompromising in their attitude against Christianity, and though a few have identified themselves with us, yet our progress of late years has been so small as to make us consider the advisability of withdrawing from the district.⁴⁰

Another chief who was strongly opposed to Christianity, was Paul Kutama. When Kutama mission was founded, he was not unfavourable to Christianity until, according to Fr H. Seed, 'Christian methods and teaching were made evident'; then he turned against Christianity 'to the utmost of his power. He was especially aroused when the church was being erected, and, coming to Fr Loubiere, cursed him and his work, threatening to go away with all his people, so as to leave the missionary alone with an empty church.'⁴¹

At St Joseph's mission in the Chilimanzi Reserve, Chief Hama also strongly opposed Christianity. According to O'Neil, Hama was friendly to the missionaries at first. But after a while, he joined the opposition party and for years remained a staunch opponent of Christianity.⁴²

Another strong opponent of Christianity in the Chilimanzi Reserve, was Chief Manovo. According to O'Neil, when the missionaries requested Manovo for permission to open a school among his people, he persistently refused. The missionaries did their best to show him the harm he was doing to the children but he would not yield. In 1918 Fr Schmitz made a last but useless attempt to obtain his permission and on leaving the village, he warned Manovo that God would punish him for his refusal. The words were prophetic; a few months later, Manovo was attacked by a horrible disease; 'his whole body corrupted, and the stench that proceeded from it was so dreadful that ... none of the people could go near him, and he died, like Herod, "eaten by worms."⁴³

In Manicaland, Chief Mutasa was strongly opposed to Christianity;⁴⁴ so was Chief Zimunya.⁴⁵ In Murewa, the most stubborn opponent of Christianity was Chief Nyajina. On 14th July, 1909 the medical missionary, Dr Samuel Gurney, applied to the Native Commissioner for Murewa, Mr William Edwards, for a site to establish a mission and a medical centre in the tribal area. Chief Nyajina was opposed to this. According to Dr Gurney, Nyajina persistently refused to allow missionaries of the American Methodist Episcopal Church to enter his country. The ministry of healing, Dr Gurney said, had no influence on him; he was afraid of it and would have nothing to do with it. After Dr Gurney had failed to make any impression on Nyajina, Mr

Edwards offered to assist him to obtain Nyajina's permission. He invited Nyajina to his office and held several meetings with him but even Mr Edward's arguments failed to overcome Nyajina's objections. Nyajina repeatedly said, 'My heart does not want a mission in my country.' When Mr Edwards failed to obtain Nyajina's permission, he referred the matter to the Administrator who recommended that in view of the great service which a medical mission such as Dr Gurney proposed to establish would be to the District, both to the African and White population, Nyajina's objections should be over-ruled and a site granted to Dr Gurney without Nyajina's permission on the ground that in objecting, Nyajina was working against the interests of his people.⁴⁶ 'This authority', Dr Gurney wrote, 'was readily given, and with it the grant for our first mission site.'⁴⁷

So far, we have examined the Shona response to Christianity at the level of the chiefs. But how did the people initially respond to the Christian message?

At Chishawasha, the Jesuits found the old people difficult to evangelise. 'In the case of many, especially of the older among them', Fr Richartz wrote in 1901, 'the utmost we can hope for is that they will summon the priests when on their deathbeds.'⁴⁸ In a similar vein, the *Zambesi Mission Record* stated in 1906: 'As for the old people, one might as well preach to the cattle.'⁴⁹

In Southern Mashonaland, the Jesuits encountered the most stubborn resistance to Christianity among the older Karanga around St Joseph's mission near Chief Hama's village in the Chilimanzi District. O'Neil wrote in 1917:

Of all natives of Southern Rhodesia whom I have seen, the older Makaranga of this district appear to be the most debased and vicious and the most bitterly opposed to the introduction of Christianity in their midst ... They have no high thoughts, no wish to be lifted up out of their present degraded state, and absolutely no desire that their children should be educated, still less that they should embrace Christianity. The missionary therefore has no hope of doing anything with the married pagans, and what is sadder, he can do scarcely anything with the children. It is on the young men that nearly all his hopes are centred.

He stated that of the children, very few had as yet been baptised, firstly because nearly all the parents refused to allow the children to ask for instruction for baptism and secondly, because as the older people were 'so sunk in vice and superstition and so

hostile to Christianity, if the young children were baptised, it would be almost impossible for them to live as practising Catholics.⁵⁰ He added that the adults at Gokomere were even worse than those at Hama's: 'They are hopeless pagans ...'⁵¹ At St Benedict's mission, Fr Bruno expressed similar sentiments. 'The old people', he wrote in 1915, 'are quite a hard and careless lot. However, they readily allow the boys to go to school and another generation will see a great change for the better.'⁵²

In Manicaland, missionaries of the American Methodist Episcopal Church also encountered strong resistance to Christianity among the old people. The Superintendent of Mutambara District, the Revd John M. Springer, said that while most of the children attended school at Mutambara mission, the older people were indifferent to Christianity, as a rule. 'They seemed', he wrote, 'to have the idea in their minds, or at least the excuse on their lips, that the work of the mission was exclusively for the younger ones, saying, "We are too old to change our ways".'⁵³ The Superintendent of the Umtali District, the Revd John R Gates, shared this view. 'In most cases', he wrote, 'the old men and women are hopeless.'⁵⁴

But the greatest hindrance to Christianity in Mashonaland as in Matabeleland from the missionaries' point of view, was the institution of polygamy and its concomitant, the *roora/lobola* system. The *Zambesi Mission Record*, for example, stated in October, 1906: 'The older people, confirmed polygamists ... give the missionary practically no hope. He must turn his attention to the young ...'⁵⁵

The 'problem' of polygamy was best illustrated by the residents of Chishawasha mission. 'With regard to the older Mashonas', Fr Richartz wrote in 1901, 'there is, generally speaking, but little chance of converting them before they see that the end of life is at hand. Confirmed polygamists ... and wedded to the superstitions of their ancestors, it is scarcely to be expected that, except in very rare cases, they will consent to live according to the Christian Law.'⁵⁶ By 1905 the situation had not improved. The polygamists would willingly enough listen to the Christian Gospel but to put away all but one of their wives in the heyday of life and vigour, was a step they could not bring themselves to take.⁵⁷ By 1906 the situation had still not improved. The polygamists would do anything rather than give up one of their wives.⁵⁸

The missionaries also denounced the *roora* system. Fr Richartz, for example, denounced the *roora* system on the ground that it was simply *buying* a girl and had much in common with slave dealing since the girl's wishes and inclinations were very often not considered at all and that it was not unusual for a girl to be forced into a marriage because her father had 'sold' her when young and if she refused when she

had grown up, her father would have to return the *roora* but to get out of his predicament, the father would insist and might even torture his own daughter to 'make' her agree.⁵⁹

III

Polygamy, the Roora/Lobola System and the Missionaries' Response to African Opposition to Christianity in Matabeleland and Mashonaland

The institution of polygamy and *roora/lobola* system require an explanation. In this respect, what applied to Mashonaland applied *mutatis mutandis* to Matabeleland.

Polygamy refers to a union of a man with two or more wives. According to Gelfand, polygamy is a way of life among the Shona; the practice 'exemplifies the survival imperative that calls for many children and a big family group.' He suggests that perhaps a very potent reason for polygamy is that a man who has many children 'is well off and enjoys the feeling of safety in numbers.'⁶⁰

According to Bishop R. P. Hatendi of the Anglican Church, polygamy is a social solution to social problems. For instance, it is customary for a man to look after the widow and children of a deceased brother, or to beget children in the name of a brother who died without issue. The man who marries his brother's widow for one of these two reasons, 'is playing the part of a kinsman and society expects him to play this part'. Polygamy is also a solution to sex imbalance when women outnumber men. As far as Bishop Hatendi is concerned, a Shona polygamist is a humanist: 'He comes to the rescue of widows and orphans at their hour of need in a cultural environment which does not provide adequately for independent widows and orphans.' He adds that those who condemn polygamists 'do not fully appreciate the service they render to society.'⁶¹ Fr Richard Sykes who, as we have seen, condemned polygamy in the strongest terms, would most certainly disagree with Bishop Hatendi's view that a Shona polygamist is a humanist. Nevertheless, he acknowledged the disparity between the sexes among the Shona and Ndebele as one of the powerful forces underlying the institution of polygamy. He said that among the Shona and Ndebele prior to the advent of white rule, the men were almost always engaged in strife - either in actual warfare or in bloody raids and forays. Consequently,

the men were killed in large numbers while the women were spared to become the wives of the victors.⁶²

Among contemporary informants, opinion is divided on the merits and demerits of polygamy. We have seen that missionaries condemned polygamy on the grounds, *inter alia*, that it was the cause of jealousy and hatred in the family. Mr Adam Parazva Chimombe,⁶³ aged 75 years and a resident of Chishawasha mission farm, completely disagrees with this view. He said that where the husband was a rich man, usually the wife would recruit her own sister or brother's daughter as a second wife for the husband; so the question of jealousy where the younger wife was the sister or the brother's daughter of the married woman, did not arise.⁶⁴ Mr Chimombe's son, Mr Stan Mushonga Chimombe,⁶⁵ aged 51 and also a resident of Chishawasha mission farm, said that a polygamous union usually took place after the death of the husband and the widow had to be inherited by one of the male members of the family in order that she would have someone within the family to support her and raise children by her so that the children raised would continue to belong to the same family or clan (*vave rudzi rumwe*).⁶⁶

The Revd K. S. B. Dhliwayo,⁶⁷ aged 90 and a retired minister of the United Church of Christ (formerly the American Congregational Church), said that polygamy was not a bad custom as such and that traditionally a man could marry more than one wife in order to have more children with the other wives.⁶⁸

Those informants who disapprove of polygamy, do so on several grounds. Pastor S.K. Mundeta,⁶⁹ aged 72 and lives just outside Chikore mission farm, stated simply: 'You cannot have two hearts, to love two wives in the same way is impossible. You will love one and hate the other'.⁷⁰ Mr Benedict Kamangira Kutama⁷¹ of Kutama mission, disapproves of polygamy on financial grounds. He said a man cannot look after more than one wife. 'After the Whites came,' he said, 'we began to wear European clothes; so many things were needed - dresses, etc.'⁷² Mr Tshupu Khumalo,⁷³ of Hope Fountain mission, also disapproves of polygamy on the ground that one man cannot look after many wives and children.⁷⁴

The Revd Philemon M. Khumalo,⁷⁵ aged 74 and a retired Bishop of the Brethren In Christ Church, disapproves of polygamy on the grounds that the Bible says that a man can only have one wife. He added that there is 'hatred and fighting in polygamous homes; wives fight; children hate one another; it is oppression.'⁷⁶

The Revd M.S. Senda,⁷⁷ the current (1992) Bishop of the Brethren In Christ Church, also disapproves of polygamy on the following grounds:

Polygamous families have no peace at all. I have studied a few of such families and found that there is no peace in those families... there is endless hatred and bitterness ... I have heard wives who belong to one man/husband ... referring to the other as an enemy. The children who grow up in such homes, learn about enmity within the home in their early stages. They learn to hate from childhood. There is lots of mistrust and mischief within the family ... In Genesis, the Bible clearly states that a man shall leave his father and his mother and cleave unto his wife and the two shall be one. The pure will of God is one man, one wife ...⁷⁸

The Revd S. L. Masuku,⁷⁹ aged 67 and a pastor of the Seventh Day Adventist Church at Solusi, has made the most spirited argument against polygamy on Biblical grounds. Firstly, he pointed out that Paul in his instructions to a young minister who wanted to know the qualifications for the office of bishop and deacons, stated categorically that a bishop 'must be blameless, the husband of one wife ...' (1 Timothy 3 : 2, 12; Titus 1 : 6, 7). Secondly, the Bible says of Solomon, considered the wisest king who ever lived that 'his wives turned away his heart after other gods; and his heart was not perfect with the Lord, his God'. (1 Kings, 11: 3-4). The prophet Nehemiah also said, 'even him (Solomon) did outlandish women cause to sin.' (Nehemiah 13: 26). Thirdly, Abram who later became Abraham, had his trust in God considerably shaken because when Abraham's wife Sara bore him no children, and because she had a handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name was Hagar, Sara said to Abraham, her husband, 'Look, see now the Lord has restrained me from bearing. I pray you go in unto my maid; it may be that I may obtain children by her.' Abraham listened to Sara's suggestion. (Genesis 16: 1-2). Then Sara, Abraham's wife, took Hagar and gave her to her husband to be his wife. Hagar conceived and when she saw that she had conceived, she despised her mistress and looked down upon her. (Genesis 16 : 3-4). Thus, the once-upon-a-time obedient servant who honoured and respected her mistress after marrying Abraham by customary law, now began to look down upon her mistress. Pastor Masuku said that these and many other examples that could be cited show clearly that polygamy always brought strife and misunderstanding where there was once peace and mutual forbearance. He added:

What happened in Bible times is happening in our day and age. The second or third wife who is married under customary law, is humble at first until she has established herself and then suddenly she becomes arrogant, bully, and

finally unmanageable. Polygamous marriages could never be part of God's programme of restoring men into God's original plan of creation ... Therefore the true church of God which speaks for God because it is God's spokesman, must be on God's side. It must speak against polygamy because ... polygamy brings discord and misunderstandings in families. Besides, Christ said that the Church is His body. Christ is the Husband and the Church is His wife. (Ephesians 5 : 21-33). Christ has only one church, so there is one wife for each man. In the Seventh Day Adventist Church, the first converts, those that were converted by the first missionaries, and were found living in a polygamous state, were baptised and accepted into full church membership, but unfortunately those that had been baptised with one wife began to increase their number of wives, pointing out that they did not see anything wrong with polygamy because their neighbours who were polygamous, had been baptised. It was very difficult to show that there was a difference between the two groups, until the church was forced to change its stand and make it a requirement that only those that have only one wife may be baptised.⁸⁰

Having examined the institution of polygamy from the missionaries' point of view and from the point of view of the Africans themselves, we should now turn to the *roora/lobola* custom.

Posselt defines *roora/lobola* as 'a contract that arises from a proposed marriage by which the future husband (or his family on his behalf) delivers or promises to deliver to the father (which in all cases includes the guardian) of the future wife, stock or other property, in consideration of which the legal custody of the children born of the marriage is vested in their father (or his family) to the exclusion of any member of the mother's family'.⁸¹ He emphasises that *lobola* is not the purchase price of the woman; the husband may not sell her, nor hand over to another, nor maim her and in fact, is obliged to protect her and ensure her welfare. In case of neglect or gross ill-treatment, the woman has a legal claim to her father's protection and the father may return the *lobola* and thus dissolve the marriage or he may claim compensation from the husband and may refuse to return her until the compensation has been paid. If no *lobola* has been paid, the woman's father can claim any children born of the marriage, and the husband's claim to their custody may be resisted until the *lobola* has been delivered. If no children are born due to the barrenness of the woman, the husband may return her to her father and demand that a younger sister be given him in marriage to bear children for and on behalf of his first wife. When such a marriage is contracted, only nominal *lobola* is delivered in respect of the second marriage. The

delivery of *lobola* is the essence of the transfer of the custody of the children to their father; all other considerations, rights or obligations are only ancillary. If the woman dies without issue, the husband may demand the return of *lobola* or that another female member of her family be given him in marriage.⁸²

Bullock supports the argument that the *lobola* payment is not 'the mere purchase of a wife'; it is, *inter alia*, 'a safeguard for her good treatment by the husband' and her family must ensure that she is well treated. He adds that if the woman has been badly treated, she might run away to her father and her husband could not recover her until he promised better behaviour in the future and frequently not until he had demonstrated that he was truly penitent by making an additional *lobola* payment.⁸³

Bourdillon also supports the view that the wife is not simply bought as property and points out that the husband's family have obligations towards the wife's family that transcend the *roora* payment; they may not pass her on to a third family and the wife's family is entitled to defend and protect her if she is badly treated.⁸⁴

The *roora* payment (*pfuma*) in former days amounted to a hoe (*badza*) which was kept as a symbol or proof of marriage.⁸⁵ According to Holleman, *roora* has not always been identified with cattle and in the old days, in the absence of cattle, a customary *roora* payment comprised between fifteen and twenty hoes and three to four goats.⁸⁶

Moreover, in traditional Shona society, there is a provision which enables a poor man to marry a wife under the *kugarira* system. The basic feature of this form of marriage, according to Holleman, is that the husband, instead of providing the customary *roora*, obtains his wife against a long-term service agreement to work for his father-in-law. This usually happens when the prospective son-in-law is unable to provide *roora*. He then agrees to stay with his family-in-law and work for them for an unspecified period. In the meantime, he is allowed to marry the girl and to have children by her. But he can regain his freedom and take his wife and children with him - when he is able and willing to provide *roora*. This form of agreement is called *kugarira* and the husband is referred to as *mugariri*.⁸⁷

According to Gelfand, the *roora* payment gives the woman a value in the eyes of all especially the man. Because the woman has a value, she cannot just be taken. He adds: 'A definite payment has to be made for her. She just cannot be picked up. If she is built up as having a value ... the man will treasure her and look after her and protect her.'⁸⁸

Bishop Hatendi argues in a similar vein and adds that *roora* is 'a significant gift and acknowledgement of a priceless debt which the bridegroom's family-group owes to the bride's family group'; it 'confers marital status on a woman, without it she is generally regarded as a concubine'; it gives stability to the marriage.⁸⁹

Indeed, informants are unanimous that *roora/lobola* is a good custom. Mr Wilson Muzambwa,⁹⁰ aged 74 years and a resident of Epworth mission farm, said that the idea behind *roora* is to bring together two families (*kuita hukama*); it was never intended to be a source of wealth (*zvanga zvisiri zvokuti munhu apfume nazvo*).⁹¹

Mr Stan Mushonga Chimombe of Chishawasha, denounced the idea that *roora* was buying and selling of women as preposterous. He said a man could marry with a hoe; sometimes a man died without finishing paying *roora* (*asina kupedza roora*). He also denounced the idea that the chief object of polygamy was to produce more daughters in order to obtain more *roora*. 'What would happen', he asked, 'if the man produced only sons?' He also pointed to the *kugarira* system under which, as we have seen, a poor man could marry by working for an indefinite period for his father-in-law in lieu of *roora*. He said that for this reason, no poor man failed to marry because he failed to pay *roora*. There was no question of wanting money (*yokuda mari*) on the part of the father-in-law. 'Missionaries', he said, 'did not want to learn our customs- otherwise they would have understood that *roora* is bringing together two families (*kusunga hukama*)'.⁹² Mr Stan Mushonga Chimombe's father, Mr Adam Parazwa Chimombe confirmed that *roora* is not buying and selling women. He said some men married with a hoe (*vairooranebadza*).⁹³ Mrs Tshambu Magdalena Tshuma⁹⁴, aged about 104 and lives about four kilometers outside Empandeni mission, also said *lobola* is a good custom; it brings together two families. She added that the *lobola* payment was symbolic and that in the old days, even a string of beads or a clay pot, was accepted.⁹⁵ Mrs M. Gumbo,⁹⁶ aged 86 and lives about six kilometers from Matopo mission, also said that *lobola* is not buying and selling of women but rather a compensation to the bride's family for the loss of a member of the family to the bridegroom's family.⁹⁷

Bishop Philemon M. Khumalo, while opposed to polygamy as we have seen, approves of the *lobola* payment and added: 'It is an appreciation of the woman I married. It is still good; it cements the relationship between two families'⁹⁸. Mrs Cecilia Gwebu,⁹⁹ aged 61 and a teacher at Hope Fountain mission, also approves of the *lobola* custom. 'When I got married', she said, 'my father got six cattle. It is a good custom; it strengthens ties between two families'.¹⁰⁰ The Revd Joshua Richardson Danisa¹⁰¹, aged 75 and a minister of the United Congregational Church of Southern

Africa (formerly the London Missionary Society) also approves of the *lobola* custom and added that there was no time limit for payment.¹⁰²

The Revd J. M. Zvobgo,¹⁰³ aged about 88 and a minister of the African Reformed Church as well as founder of Shonganiso Mission in Mutirikwi Communal Area in Masvingo Province, stated, 'Every nation has its own customs and traditions. We have our own customs and traditions. A nation without its own customs and traditions, is not worth preserving. The British, for example, have their own customs and traditions which we may disapprove of but are bound to respect. The same applies to *roora*. *Roora* is deeply rooted in African tradition (*tsika yevatema*). The missionaries should have respected this custom. They were completely wrong in condemning this custom; it is a good custom.'¹⁰⁴

Pastor S.L. Masuku of Solusi mission who, as we have seen, provided the strongest argument *against* polygamy, also provided the strongest argument in favour of the *lobola* system. He said:

Any missionary worth his salt should be familiar with the story of Abraham's family. Before Abraham died, he made sure that Isaac was going to marry a woman who believed in the God who made heaven and earth and so he paid all the *lobola* for his son before he died. (Genesis 24 : 50-61). When Jacob wanted to marry when circumstances had separated him from his parents, we find him working for his wives, and it is written that 'Jacob served seven years for Rachael, and they seemed but a few days for the love he had for her'. (Genesis 29 : 20-31). And he worked for six years for his cattle, sheep, camels, and goats. (Genesis 30 : 27-43). Those who condemn *lobola*, do so out of ignorance of the reasons behind the system, or perhaps the way it is practised in or among some tribes. It is condemned particularly by the modern generation for its excessiveness. Even the State refuses to interfere, even though it admits that the parents are charging too exorbitantly for their daughters. It used to be thought that the most expensive item to buy was a car, but today you find some families requiring the son-in-law to provide a car as part of the *lobola* paraphernalia. So those who condemn *lobola*, do so *not* on the system as such, but condemn the way it is practised in the various parts of the same country. There is a need for uniformity in its practice.¹⁰⁵

The above contemporary evidence should be sufficient to show that informants are unanimous that *roora/lobola* is a good custom. Even though opinion was divided among informants on the merits and demerits of polygamy, the arguments raised

transcend the immediate issues at hand: the missionaries failed utterly to appreciate fully the values of the cultures of the African people of Zimbabwe whom they came to evangelise.

In a powerful critique, the Revd D.P. Mandebvu,¹⁰⁶ aged 75 and a retired minister of the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe (formerly the Dutch Reformed Church), said that missionaries were wrong in condemning out of hand, African cultural practices such as polygamy and the *roora/lobola* system: 'They should have started by teaching about the evils of these practices in Christian worship, then the Africans would see and themselves formulate rules for themselves.' He said missionaries failed to follow appropriate approaches: 'Instead of teaching first about the good values in the Christian religion, they imposed rules. They tried to eliminate everything in African culture. The Africans took Christianity to be a European religion.' He said that missionaries should have studied the approaches used by Paul on his three missionary journeys:

Paul made use of what he found among the heathens and sometimes made use of these things, preaching from what *they* knew to the new religion he was bringing to them. Generally, he did not try to eliminate the cultural background of the heathens or impose a Jewish cultural tradition on them but preached about Jesus Christ, the Son of God who had come to save the world including the heathens. Paul did not start by introducing sets of rules but preached the Good News. Then rules were formulated (Acts 15 : 5). Some of the Pharisees suggested that before the heathens became proper Christians, they should keep the laws of Moses. But the Apostles rejected this. The Apostles call these laws a yoke which even their fathers failed to carry (Acts 15 : 9-11). Then simple rules were formulated (Acts 15 : 20), for example, abstaining from worshipping idols, adultery, etc. These simple rules were introduced *after* the establishment of churches, *not* before.¹⁰⁷

Because Christian missionaries in Zimbabwe failed to follow Paul's approaches to the conversion of the 'heathens', to adapt the Gospel to a foreign culture, they took a confrontational approach to conversion and continued to regard polygamy as a vicious custom. If polygamy was a vicious custom, what was the remedy? According to the Jesuits, the remedy was to 'reform the native family':

It must be based on the Christian principle. Polygamy for the future should be forbidden by law. There should be no more plurality of wives allowed by the State. Then the iniquitous custom of *lobola* might be done away with,

for it is nothing short of buying women by cattle, money or goods ... Polygamy being forbidden, the native family will be more susceptible of taking up and following Christian influences. Modern civilisation will gradually take the place of pagan customs. Men will see the necessity of labour. Women will be raised from their present degraded position ... Fifty years of good government in the formation of native families on the Christian principle of monogamy will go far to solve the labour question, which, if not considered at its root, may be expected after five thousand years to present the same difficulty that it does today.¹⁰⁸

In July, 1901 Fr Prestage urged the Government to do its utmost to discountenance and little by little to abolish *lobola*, 'thus striking a blow at its concomitant evil, polygamy'. He added:

Incalculable would be the benefits accruing to the people themselves and to the whole country if the adult male population among the natives were content to live each man with one wife only ... The solid good resulting from such a change would be manifold. The native family would be built up on a Christian instead of a pagan basis. Husbands and wives would love and respect one another, which is far from being the case under the existing native system of marriage. Children would love, respect, and obey their parents, and in place of the ill-will and even hatred which at present prevails among the offsprings of different wives, there would be mutual affection and concord in the family. In short, natives would gradually assimilate to themselves the ways of the white man and would thereby be fitting themselves to receive Christianity.¹⁰⁹

The British South Africa Company regime, however, refused to co-operate with the missionaries in suppressing polygamy by force. According to Fr Richard Sykes the Government took the position that to suppress polygamy by force would be 'an unwarranted tampering with an institution, to overthrow which would upset the whole social life and the economy of the natives, and would bring about universal dissatisfaction and dangerous unrest ...'¹¹⁰

Because of their uncompromising position on polygamy, the Wesleyans in 1917 expelled a prominent Church member and some Local Preachers from the Church because they had contracted polygamous marriages.¹¹¹ The Jesuits also expelled polygamists from Empandeni mission farm in 1902. The Report for Empandeni for that year stated, 'We shall lose in numbers, but we shall gain by the deepening of the

conviction in the minds of the natives that we mean business, and that there can be no compromise between Christianity and paganism on the all-important question of marriage.¹¹²

The Jesuits took this uncompromising position because, according to Sykes, polygamy was 'a kind of touchstone which tests the sincerity of the South African natives, like the Matabele and the Mashonas, in their desire for Christianity, and distinguishes the true metal from the base.' He added:

It is almost impossible for those who have never come in contact with savage polygamous tribes or races to realize how deep the tradition and practice of having a plurality of wives goes down into the social life and structure of such natives as the Matabele and the Mashonas. It is not merely a question of appetite; it is not, often times, a question, perhaps, of appetite at all; it is a question of social standing and importance. A man who has only one wife is 'a dog' or a slave; whereas a man who has more is a gentleman, a man of position; just as in civilised nations a man's position may be determined by the number of servants whom he keeps.¹¹³

As we have seen, this was a total misconception, if not a caricature, of the reasons underlying the institution of polygamy. Indeed, as Barrett has correctly pointed out, missionaries throughout Africa made a fundamental mistake on this issue by 'attempting to force African society to abandon polygamy too rapidly instead of allowing the indigenous Christian conscience to evolve its own solution'.¹¹⁴ The same applies to the *roora* system.

In a powerful article he wrote in 1928, the late Native Commissioner, Mr F. Posselt, argued that to deny *roora* any place or influence in Christian marriages, is 'merely evading the issue.' He said that *roora* 'is a vital factor in native marriage, whether under Christian rites or not; it is a fundamental element in native institutions, and we cannot ignore it. It may be very desirable that it should not have a place in or influence over a native marriage according to Christian rites, but the solid fact remains that it does.'¹¹⁵ He added:

Until the Church ... modifies its present cramped conception of marriage and recognises the fact that it is not a question of a sacrament of the Church, but a wholly human institution, much older than any church, it will probably finally fail in its teaching among a polygamous people. The only solution

at the present stage of Bantu mentality is to recognise native marriage; if some religious ceremony must necessarily be added, to confine this to a spiritual blessing on the union; but to refrain from imposing the obligation of entering into a 'church marriage' which is nought but putting new wine into old bottles - with the inevitable result that the bottles burst.¹¹⁶

In time, the missionaries themselves realised that polygamy was a deeply-entrenched custom which could not be suppressed by force. Sykes, for example, said that the defeat and displacement of polygamy would necessarily be slow. He added:

You cannot uproot in a day from the life of a nation what is a part of that national life. The nearest way is to get the children, to instil into them a higher and better morality; to keep them as far as possible, from contact with heathen influences; to form reserves or separate kraals and villages of married Christian couples as these grow up to the responsible age.¹¹⁷

IV

Great Strides Forward, 1897-1923

In spite of the 'difficulties' posed by polygamy and the *roora/lobola* system, the missionaries did remarkably well.

We have seen that in Matabeleland and Mashonaland, some chiefs were strongly opposed to Christianity. Others, however, embraced Christianity. In Matabeleland the best example of a chief who embraced Christianity, was Majila, a Kalanga chief. According to the Revd J. W. Stanlake, Majila had from the beginning shown great interest in the work of the missionaries:

On several occasions he came to me and begged to have a teacher sent to him. I stipulated that I would send him a teacher on the station on one condition, that condition I should take as a test of his sincerity namely, that he should build a church and a house for the teacher. When this was completed he was to come again, and we would see what then could be done. Majila wasted no time. His people immediately set to work, and in a remarkably short time ... he returned and said the church and house were built. Having proved

himself, in a few weeks our mission there was established, and the success which has followed, proves that Majila was earnest.¹¹⁸

Another chief who embraced Christianity was Abednego Sinondo of the Gwanda District. He not only helped the Wesleyans to establish themselves among his people but also became a Local Preacher.¹¹⁹

In Mashonaland, some chiefs who had previously been strongly opposed to Christianity, were eventually converted. This was best illustrated by Chief Paul Kutama. We have seen that Paul Kutama was initially strongly opposed to Christianity. But a change came. According to Fr H. Seed, Kutama's children, with one exception, were converted and dissuaded their father from burning down the newly-built huts at the mission. They further told him that they were determined to remain with the missionary. When Kutama realised the genuine happiness of his people in consequence of their conversion, he took up the defence of the mission and at length formally accepted the school. He gave up 'pagan' ceremonies and practices; he would, for example, refuse to accept as a present, any meat which had been offered to the spirits. In October, 1921 Kutama was taken ill and although he did not think he was *in periculo mortis*, he made up his mind to become a Christian. Knowing this, his brothers came to dissuade him but he sent them away and told them that he did not want to see them again. He called one of his sisters and admonished her for taking her children away from school and told her to send them back again. As a sign of his sincerity, Kutama forbade any 'pagan' rites at his funeral. This greatly intensified the anger of his brothers as it meant 'the absence of the orgies usual on such occasions'. When Kutama was about to die, little instruction was needed as he had learned much from his children and when the priest told him that the waters of baptism were about to make him a child of God, he crossed his hands on his breast and lay back perfectly still until the priest had administered the Sacrament. A striking change came over his face and while grace worked in his soul, the pain also disappeared. He was anxious to die in the Christian village he had once planned to burn down and was carried to the hut of one of his sons. The old chief died peacefully with a rosary round his neck surrounded by his many children, grand-children and great-grandchildren. He was buried on 27th October, 1921.¹²⁰

Another notable conversion was that of Chief Zvimba, the uncle of Kutama. The circumstances of his conversion were somewhat similar to the above. According to Fr Seed, Zvimba had been an enemy but had come to 'admire, and even to envy, the Christians'. He was taken ill when he was about 40 miles from Kutama mission and sent a message that he wished to be baptised. The priest in charge of Kutama mission,

Fr Loubière, had not up to then seen any indications of this desire on the part of the chief, and so, doubting the message, he sent his catechist, the chief's own son, to enquire. Zvimba begged for a cart to be sent to convey him to the Christian village at Kutama mission and the catechist was 'so well satisfied with the sick man's dispositions that he baptised him then and there'. Later, when he had been brought to Kutama mission, the chief told the priest that he had 'given up entirely his superstitions and that he had forbidden any pagan ceremonies after his death'. But Zvimba did not die at once as all expected, but lingered on for some days. Fr Loubière began to doubt the validity of the baptism and the catechist, when questioned, was not sure that water had flowed on the skin. Fr Loubière administered the Sacrament conditionally and a few hours later, Zvimba passed away. Fr Seed commented: 'These two chiefs in the face of death were drawn to renounce absolutely that spirit worship which had been the central feature of their long pagan lives. What they had practised, they at last shunned... seeking to die in the midst of the Christians among whom alone they felt they could die in safety'.¹²¹

In Manicaland, Chief Mutasa who had initially been strongly opposed to Christianity, eventually relented. According to Shirley D. Coffin, Mutasa asked the missionaries of the American Methodist Episcopal Church to come and lead his people into the new way.¹²²

We also noted that Chief Zimunya was strongly opposed to Christianity. In fact, as late as November, 1910 he had flatly refused to have another church in his country and seemed sorry that he had one. In 1911, however, Zimunya ceased his opposition and told the Revd T.A. O'Farrell, 'I have quit fighting and you may build as many churches as you wish'.¹²³

Elsewhere in Manicaland, other chiefs responded positively to the coming of the missionaries. Chief Mutambara, for example, welcomed the missionaries;¹²⁴ sent his young men to school and encouraged his people to attend the Sunday services.¹²⁵ Also in Manicaland, two chiefs who responded positively to the Christian message were Fusire and Gandanzara. Fusire was converted by his two sons who had already been converted and had joined the Church. Gandanzara was converted by the Revd John M. Springer. He was not only converted and baptised but was also made a steward in the Church.¹²⁶

Perhaps the most remarkable example of conversion to Christianity at the level of the

chiefs during this period, was that of Chief Chiremba of Epworth whose long and peripatetic career we should examine in some detail. According to his grand nephew, Mr Wilson Muzambwa, Chiremba was the son of Chief Furamera Chihota of *Shumba-Tembo* totem. He was a traditional healer (hence the name Chiremba-healer or doctor) and began his healing art while in Chihota. He inherited his father's wife with whom he had a son called Jonas who subsequently assisted the Revd John White in translating St Mark's Gospel into Shona in 1897 and whose son, Simon J. Chihota, subsequently became a minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Chiremba fled from Chihota to Njanja because he had privately co-habited with his brother's wife and took both women with him. While in Njanja, he married his own wife. Before the advent of the white regime, Chiremba undertook healing tours to Matabeleland accompanied by his three wives. His stint in Matabeleland enabled his son, Jonas, to learn Ndebele and to be fluent in the language. He returned to Njanja to visit his in-laws. From Njanja his healing tours took him to Mt Darwin where he married two wives, making a total of five. From Mt Darwin he came to settle among the Shawasha people near what is now the Cleveland Dam. He then decided to build his own village nearby. The pioneer Wesleyan Methodist missionaries, Owen Watkins and Isaac Shimmin, visited Chiremba at his village where they established Epworth mission in 1892. Chiremba was converted to Christianity by Isaac Shimmin and the evangelist, Michael Bowen. Because Michael Bowen spoke Zulu, he was able to communicate with Chiremba's son, Jonas, who, as we have seen, was fluent in Ndebele. While appreciating the utility of his profession, the missionaries convinced Chiremba that their magical arts (reading and writing) were superior to his own and gave a practical demonstration of how two people who were literate in the same language could communicate with each other by letter. Chiremba was amazed. The missionaries told him that if he wanted to learn these magical arts, they would have to train his children and would give him a teacher to teach them. They said if he agreed, he would have to build a house for the teacher and a church where the teacher would teach them to read and write. Once his children had learned to read and write, they would be able to read the Bible. They said they wanted to convert him to the new faith they had brought and explained the conditions for conversion and baptism: he would have to give up his healing art and all his wives save one. Chiremba accepted these conditions, was baptised in 1892 and was given the name Isaac. He was the first Shona chief the Wesleyans converted. He died in 1919.¹²⁷

Having examined the response of the chiefs to Christianity in Matabeleland, Mashonaland and Manicaland, we should now turn to the response of the people. We shall begin with Matabeleland.

The London Missionary Society which had found Matabeleland under Lobengula an unpromising mission field with only 12 converts who were baptised between 1881 and 1883,¹²⁸ did remarkably well under colonial rule.

In September, 1901 a great baptismal service was held at Inyati when 34 adults were baptised into full church membership. According to the Revd W.A. Elliot, a church-school was built by 'enthusiastic people'. At the opening on 25th November, 1901 it was 'crowded to excess, and many people had to content themselves with outside seats'.¹²⁹ He added:

It was the same on every side, people crying out to be taught, congregations often crowded... There was depth as well as surface in the movement: the spirit of prayer was abroad, and in home life were exhibited the changed hearts of the people.¹³⁰

Similar scenes were witnessed at Hope Fountain. 'Men came in increasing numbers, and even the women attended. The congregations were not only larger, they were in quality vastly improved. Never before had such responsibility burdened the missionary's heart'.¹³¹ At Centenary which had been founded by the Revd David Carnegie in October, 1897 a similar situation obtained when a new church was opened in November, 1899. Among the speakers was Mazwi, an induna who delivered an impressive speech: 'What has been left to us these days? Shields? They are eaten by the rats. Assegais? We cut grass and pumpkins with them. You see that book, (pointing to the New Testament in Mr Carnegie's hand), that is our shield'.¹³²

Among the Seventh Day Adventists, the first convert was Jim Mayinza, a pupil at Solusi who was baptised by Elder F.L. Mead at a river three miles from the mission on 1st December, 1901. The occasion was a memorable one for the missionaries who had waited and prayed for five and half years for this first convert.¹³³ In the morning on 25th June, 1902 the entire Solusi mission family, joined by two hundred or three hundred spectators from surrounding villages, gathered at the river for the second baptism. As the student body stood on the bank of the river singing appropriate hymns, the twelve candidates were led into the water one by one and baptised by Elder M.C. Sturdevant. That same afternoon the first Solusi church was organised with a membership of twenty-nine. Elder Sturdevant was chosen as first elder, and W.H. Anderson, as deacon. Eight years had passed since the arrival of the first missionaries, and these were the first fruits of their work for God.¹³⁴ On Christmas Day, 1909, some 22 young people presented themselves for baptism. To the surprise of the missionaries, two elderly widows asked for baptism. They had faithfully

attended baptismal classes and although unable to read the Bible, they had accepted Jesus as their Saviour. These two were the first fruits from among the older generation of Africans.¹³⁵

The Jesuits did even better during this period. In spite of the strong opposition to Christianity especially from the older generation, 500 baptisms had been administered at Empandeni before the end of 1904. The work developed rapidly: in September, 1908 the thousandth baptism had been registered at Empandeni. By the end of July, 1910 the total had risen to exactly 1,400 of whom 1,100 had been baptised at Empandeni and 300 at Embakwe.¹³⁶ In 1923 the Christian congregation totalled 1,800 at Empandeni and 700 at Embakwe.¹³⁷ These were certainly impressive figures. But as the editor of the *Zambesi Mission Record* was quick to point out, the work of a mission station cannot be gauged by the number of baptisms only:

The priest's labours are very often far from being ended when he has had the consolation of making them (the converts) children of God by the waters of Baptism. He has to instruct and watch over the young neophytes; for, living in kraals saturated by a pagan atmosphere, they are subject to many temptations'.¹³⁸

The success of the Jesuits during this period, was best illustrated by the number of baptisms which took place at Chishawasha. Between January and May, 1898 some 40 young men and boys were baptised at the mission.¹³⁹ By May, 1899 nearly 300 baptisms had been administered. By May, 1901 the number had increased by 212 to make a total of 512.¹⁴⁰ By the end of 1902 more than 600 people had been baptised at the mission.¹⁴¹ By 31st July, 1903 the number had increased to 734.¹⁴² Again, it was not simply a question of numbers of baptisms administered but the quality of the converts which impressed Fr Richartz who praised particularly the conduct of the school boys and working boys at the mission in consequence of their conversion. He wrote in January, 1904:

The spirit of these lads is most admirable and their behaviour all that could be desired. They are staunch and loyal Catholics, loving their faith above all things and showing in a thousand ways how deeply they value it and all it gives and promises them. There is quite an apostolic spirit among the older ones, and whenever they hear of one of their relatives being seriously ill they are all eagerness to go off and prepare him to die well. Those among the working boys who continue to reside in the kraals take good care that no one shall die in their village without baptism if they can possibly help it. They report all cases of sickness at once, and in one or two instances where there has been no time to summon the priest they have given the necessary

instruction and baptised the dying person before he breathed his last. Our boys love the Church, and are immensely proud, as they may well be, of the fine edifice which is the home of the Blessed Sacrament at Chishawasha. The devout demeanour of all the boys, young and old, edifies and impresses all beholders and many have expressed the pleasure it gave them to see the way in which they serve at the altar... These boys are really pious and good; by no means milksops, but bright, sturdy little fellows with whom it is a real pleasure to deal.¹⁴³

The number of baptisms at Chishawasha continued to increase. In March, 1905 the missionaries had the satisfaction of seeing their first baptismal register filled: a thousand souls had been won for Christ at Chishawasha.¹⁴⁴ The number increased to 1,047 by the end of July, 1905.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, by the end of the year, the number of Christian marriages celebrated at Chishawasha amounted to 72.¹⁴⁶ This steady progress was maintained. 'Every Sunday', a Jesuit missionary wrote in 1906, 'the large church is almost filled by a congregation of reverent worshippers, and everyday in the week one sees a large gathering of young men, women and children present at the Holy Sacrifice and the religious instruction which follows it'.¹⁴⁷ By the end of 1907 there were over 1,100 Christians at Chishawasha.¹⁴⁸ By 1st November, 1908 the total number of baptisms registered at Chishawasha amounted to 1,444.¹⁴⁹ By the beginning of 1910 the baptismal register showed that 1,600 people had been baptised at Chishawasha.¹⁵⁰ By the end of 1912 the number had increased to 1,833 and by 1920 when Fr Richartz left the mission, the number had increased to 3,600.¹⁵¹

At St Joseph's mission in the Chilimanzi Reserve, in spite of Chief Hama's opposition, a sizeable Christian congregation was formed. When Fr O'Neil visited the mission in October, 1916 about 200 people had been baptised including more than 50 young women who had been married to Christian youths. By April, 1920 a total of 383 people had been baptized and the Christian marriages numbered 55. Of the entire Christian congregation, about two-thirds were young men and many young women who, according to O'Neil, were really pious and fervent.¹⁵² From a worldly point of view, according to O'Neil, these young Christians had 'nothing whatever to gain by renouncing paganism; on the contrary, by doing so they made themselves disliked, suspected and despised by the heathens. Hence their conversion was very real, and they are staunch young Christians. I can say truly that I have never seen more genuine piety, greater faith, or a better spirit than is to be found among these young native converts of St Joseph's'.¹⁵³

At Monte Cassino, the seeds of the Gospel were sown in fertile ground. In 1907 the Christian community numbered 43 souls all of whom, according to the editor of the *Zambesi Mission Record*, were very fervent and good.¹⁵⁴ The 43 baptisms of 1907 increased to 150 by the beginning of 1914.¹⁵⁵ At Monte Cassino the catechumenate was of long duration and it was partly owing to this that, according to the editor of the *Zambesi Mission Record*, nowhere else in the Zambesi mission were to be seen more thoroughly Christian, pious and pleasant converts.¹⁵⁶ Fr O'Neil also commented, 'I have never seen young natives more pious, cheerful and industrious than those at Monte Cassino'.¹⁵⁷ The Principal, Fr L. Hesse, also commented that the young Shona converts at the mission were 'a wonderfully edifying lot'. 'I feel quite sure', he added, 'that a short stay at Monte Cassino would be a spiritual tonic to anybody and would revive the faith of the most sluggish and careless Catholic'.¹⁵⁸

In 1923 the achievements made at Monte Cassino and its out-stations were best summed up by the editor of the *Zambesi Mission Record*:

From small beginnings Monte Cassino has grown into a fine Mission Station. Counting those of its various Out-Stations, it has a Catholic population of between 1,300 and 1,400 fervent young natives, and at the central boarding school there are about 80 youths and big girls under instruction and preparation for baptism. The catechumenate here has always been of long duration, and this is probably the chief reason why there have been scarcely any instances of relapse into pagan ways. The Christian boarders at the central school are deeply and genuinely pious and practically all of them are daily communicants.¹⁵⁹

At St Triashill the Catholics also found a fertile ground for the Gospel. The first convert was baptised in 1909.¹⁶⁰ 'The work of converting these people to Christianity', Fr F. Mayr wrote in 1909, 'has been proceeding rapidly, the dispositions of the natives being all that could be desired. Their zeal, good behaviour, and respect for the priest is most edifying. I have not seen anything like it either in Natal or other parts of South Africa during the course of twenty years' missionary work'.¹⁶¹ The editor of the *Zambesi Mission Record* also commented in 1910: 'There has been none of that hostile spirit and stubborn opposition which our missionaries have experienced in some other parts of Rhodesia; and consequently it has been possible to proceed rapidly with the work of evangelising and civilising these people. Though the mission is not yet two years old, it already has a congregation of fifty, including two married couples and the number of catechumens is nearly 200'.¹⁶² By January, 1914, no fewer than 1,235 converts had been baptised. According to the editor of the

Zambesi Mission Record, the people of Manicaland were far more tractable than those of other parts of Rhodesia and evidently were eager to learn about and ready to embrace the Catholic faith and its obligations. He added:

At the main Station of St Triashill the Christians now number a little over four hundred; there are in addition at least two hundred catechumens under instruction. All come to Mass on Sundays, many of them from kraals six, eight or nine miles distant. Their regular attendance surely argues that their profession of Christianity is no sham. On ordinary Sundays the number of communions is from 150 to 200.¹⁶³

By January, 1915 the number of converts baptised at the mission increased to 1,600. Furthermore, no fewer than 70 Christian marriages had been solemnised. There were about 200 married Christian couples at St Triashill and its outstations and about 200 catechumens were under instruction for baptism. 'The spirit of these Manyika converts to the faith', Fr O'Neil reported, 'continues to be exceedingly good; one could not wish to see better or more fervent Christians anywhere'.¹⁶⁴ By 1923, St Triashill had become the largest Catholic mission station in Rhodesia with a Catholic population including its outstations, exceeding 3,000 of whom more than a thousand were children born of Catholic parents.¹⁶⁵

The success of the Catholics during this period, was perhaps best summed up by Fr Richard Sykes who wrote in 1915:

As you travel on the veldt you will, much more frequently than of old, hear the *Angelus* send its message of the Incarnation over the country-side; and sometimes you will hear, sung by a native, who does not know of your presence, and whom you do not see but only hear, one of the Church's hymns in tones at once melodious and devotional. Such things seem trivial and almost provoke a smile, but they are indicative of the change taking place, which, it is hoped, will grow in volume and intensity as the years go on.¹⁶⁶

The American Methodists also found Manicaland a fertile ground for the Gospel. As expected, the first converts were school pupils. The missionary in charge of Mt. Makomwe mission, the Revd E.H. Greeley, wrote in 1907: 'As soon as the boys and girls were converted, they began of their own free will to carry the news to other people ... It is a cause for great rejoicing to see the company going out each Sunday with the bread of Life'.¹⁶⁷ The missionary in charge of Mutambara Circuit as well as Mutambara mission, the Revd John M. Springer, wrote in a similar vein. 'A gratifying feature of the work', he wrote in 1909, 'was the conversion of practically every pupil. Each one became a factor in the work of reaching others. When the boys

went home at vacation times they told their friends the Good News they had received'.¹⁶⁸ Springer also wrote in 1923 that practically every boy and girl at Mutambara mission had come out openly for Christ. 'A score of the boys and about thirty girls have constituted a sort of Volunteer Band and have been going out regularly to hold services among the people within a radius of ten to twelve miles distant. Many are thus reached who would not trouble to come this far to attend our services on the central station'.¹⁶⁹ Many adults were also converted. The Rhodesia District Superintendent, the Revd R. Wodehouse, reported in 1907 that the work at Umtali was in a flourishing condition; there were conversions nearly every Sunday. He added: 'The work is growing so rapidly that we shall soon need a larger and more commodious native church'.¹⁷⁰ In 1909 Wodehouse said that conversions were reported from all the mission stations and many open doors had been entered. There was genuine progress in every part of the Mutasa Circuit; new churches were being built and well filled with worshippers. The work at Mt. Makomwe mission was carried on with earnestness and zeal. 'The power of the Holy Ghost', he said, 'has been in the word preached and read and many of the heathens have come under its spell and have surrendered themselves, becoming in turn messengers of the Cross to their own kraals ...'.¹⁷¹ Dr Samuel Gurney of the Mutoko Circuit expressed similar sentiments. 'At first', he wrote in 1917, 'we were hindered by the superstitions of the people, but now all that is passing away. The people are asking us to give them preachers and teachers. They have seen a vision of better things in life than their fathers ever dreamed of, and are eagerly inquiring for those better things'.¹⁷² This progress was maintained. The Rhodesia District Superintendent wrote in 1919:

Great new spiritual values have been realised. Every centre has been shaken with a fresh spiritual blast until heathen people have seen a great light and felt the presence of a new power... Forty or more native young men have volunteered for Christian service, scores of heathen people have been brought to a saving knowledge of the Son of God and the spirit of evangelism has moved many to go from kraal to kraal preaching the Gospel.¹⁷³

This success was reflected in the Murewa Circuit. 'Chiefs and young men, women and girls', the Revd Herbert N. Howard wrote in 1919, 'are all asking for the ministrations of the church ...'.¹⁷⁴ The Revd John M. Springer said that the work in the Marange Circuit was equally successful. Many converts, he reported in 1923, had come from remote areas and when they returned home with the Good News, missionaries received 'heart-rending appeals from their sections for pastor-teachers also'.¹⁷⁵

V

***Translation of the Scriptures and Related Literature into the Vernacular,
1897-1923***

The success of the missionaries was due in part to the translation of the Scriptures and related literature into the vernacular to enable literate Christian converts to read them for themselves. In this section, we shall review the translations carried out by missionaries of the various denominations during this period.

Missionaries of the London Missionary Society pioneered the translation of the Bible and related literature into Ndebele. The Revd W. Sykes translated St Matthew's Gospel in 1884; the New Testament was completed by the Revd T.M. Thomas. A new edition of the Ndebele New Testament revised by the Reverends W.A Elliot and C.D. Helm, was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1903.¹⁷⁶ It was again revised by Mr Helm in 1912. Other books in Ndebele translated during this period were: *Old Testament Stories*; a Service Book by the Reverend N. Jones; a Hymn Book and Catechism by the Reverend J. Whiteside (1915 and 1920).¹⁷⁷

Among the Wesleyans, the Reverend John White began translating St Mark's Gospel into Shona in 1897.¹⁷⁸ In May, 1900 White completed translating St Matthew's Gospel into Shona and forwarded it to Marshall Hartley requesting him to assist in publishing it through the Bible Society.¹⁷⁹ In February, 1901 White began translating St John's Gospel into Shona.¹⁸⁰ He completed it in October, 1902 and forwarded it to Marshall Hartley for publication. In the same year he published the first Methodist Shona Catechism.¹⁸¹ In 1903 White and Walton completed the first Shona Methodist Hymn Book and requested Marshall Hartley to assist in publishing it. The Hymn Book contained sixty hymns which they either translated or composed.¹⁸² By September, 1905 White had translated most of the New Testament into Shona.¹⁸³ The Shona New Testament was published by the Bible Society in Britain and copies reached Epworth in June, 1908.¹⁸⁴ The Methodist Shona Hymn Book which White and Walton completed in 1903 was published in 1908.¹⁸⁵ Walton translated Genesis in 1906, Samuel and the Psalms.¹⁸⁶ White translated Isaiah in 1922 in collaboration with eight Africans. He also prepared *Questions on Bible History* in 1922.

Among the Anglicans, the Reverend E.H. Etheridge translated St Mark's Gospel in 1903; prepared portions of the Prayer Book with Psalms and Hymns in 1903; translated the Gospels and Acts in 1905 and completed the translation of the New

Testament in 1908. The Reverend A.S. Cripps compiled *Heroes of Faith* in 1908. Other books were: *Stories of our Lord* (1911); *Old Testament Stories* (1918); *Chaplet of Prayer* (1918); *Thoughts on Prayer* (1920); a Service Book (1920) and a Catechism (1921).¹⁸⁷

Missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church pioneered the translation of the Bible into Karanga. St Mark's Gospel in Karanga by the Reverend. A.A. Louw, was published at Paarl in 1897.¹⁸⁸ Dr J.T. Helm and Mrs C.S. Louw assisted in translating the Bible. A translation of the Gospels, the Acts and certain epistles, was printed and published in 1904.¹⁸⁹ The translation of the New Testament into Karanga by Mr Louw, was published in 1919.¹⁹⁰ Other books were: *Bible History Questions* by Mrs C.S. Louw (1909); two Catechisms (1909); *The Love of Jesus* (1913); Children's Bible by the Reverend H.C. Hugo (1918); and a Hymn Book (1922).¹⁹¹ The setting up of a Mission Press at Morgenster in 1913 greatly facilitated the production of literature in the vernacular. The first work printed on this press was the *First Epistle of Paul to Timothy*. The publication of a bi-monthly magazine in the vernacular called *Munyai wa She* (Messenger of the King) edited by Mrs Louw, was also commenced in 1913.¹⁹²

Missionaries of the American Congregational Church pioneered the translation of the Bible and related literature into Ndaue. The Reverend J.E. Hatch translated St Matthew in 1910; the Reverend G.A. Wilder translated St Mark in 1910 and St John also in 1910. After a fire at Chikore in 1916 destroyed the printing plant and stocks of books, the British and Foreign Bible Society published the Gospels, revised, in one volume in 1919. The *Psalter*, translated by the Reverends J.E. Hatch and C.C. Fuller, was issued in 1923. A Primer, containing Scripture selections, was prepared by Reverend Douglas Wood of the South African General Mission in 1903. Other books included the Catechism (1915) and a Hymn Book (1919).¹⁹³

For purposes of missionary work among the Karanga, missionaries of the Church of Sweden used Bible translations and hymnal of the Dutch Reformed Church from Morgenster mission. But they also made their own contribution. The first translation of Luther's Small Catechism into Karanga, was undertaken by Josef Othenius and A.R. Kempe in 1914.¹⁹⁴

Missionaries of the American Methodist Episcopal Church also undertook translation of the scriptures and related literature into the Manyika dialect. In 1909 St John's Gospel was translated and partly typed and the Junior Catechism was in the press.¹⁹⁵

In 1918 the Reverend E.H. Greeley was given the task of launching a small paper in the vernacular called *Umbowo Hwe Ukristu* - The Christian Witness.¹⁹⁶ By 1921 in addition to *Umbowo Hwe Ukristu*, the Reverend E.H. Greeley had printed Sunday School Lessons, *African Advance*, a Catechism, a portion of the Ritual, a Hymn Book and *Miracles and Parables*. The New Testament had been translated and typed. Part of it was ready for the press but the major part needed revision. Translations of other parts of the Bible were being perfected.¹⁹⁷ In 1922 two issues of *Umbowo Hwe Ukristu* were published. 'No product of the Press', the Reverend W.C. Gardner commented, 'promises a greater return to the Mission than this little magazine. If issued regularly, it can be used to unify our Mission, to educate and instruct in the ideals and teachings of Methodism, to direct in the paths of the nobler Christian life and to inspire our people with the consciousness of oneness with Christ.'¹⁹⁸

VI

The Establishment of Christian Villages, (1898-1921)

In order to shield their converts from 'pagan' influences, some missionary societies established Christian villages on their mission stations. The Jesuits, for example, established Christian villages at Chishawasha. We should examine the *rationale* for and the results of the establishment of Christian villages at Chishawasha in some detail.

A Jesuit missionary at Chishawasha argued in 1898: 'Segregation of the catechumens and Christians from all contact with their heathen associates is absolutely necessary, for unfortunately the experience of our Fathers in too many cases reveals, even amongst children, an incredible, precocious and unnatural depravity'.¹⁹⁹

The most spirited argument for establishing Christian villages, however, was made by Fr J. Loubiere in 1921:

The pagan atmosphere is so thoroughly corrupt that laymen themselves come to the conclusion that we must take our Christians out of it ... The devil is so well at home in the native milieu, he has such a hold on the native mind, that nothing short of heroism will enable a young convert to persevere if he is in daily contact with his pagan acquaintances ... It is only by creating new surroundings for the converts, by introducing them into a healthy and Christian atmosphere, that we may hope to preserve them. It is only by this

new departure that we may hope to establish a true Christian community built up on the cornerstone of Christian life, i.e., the Christian family.²⁰⁰

For these reasons, the Jesuits established three Christian villages at Chishawasha called Loyola, Montserrat and Rosario where married Christian couples resided completely separated from the 'pagans' none of whom was allowed to take their abode in any of these villages.²⁰¹ By 1906 three new villages made up entirely of Christian families, had been established between Rosario and Montserrat. When a Jesuit missionary visited these Christian villages in 1906, he was struck by 'the neatness of the houses and their immediate surroundings and the pleasant demeanour of the people'. He added:

Nowhere else in South Africa, have I seen natives so thoroughly Christian in heart and sentiment, so attached to the Church, and so edifying in their behaviour. One cannot but rejoice to see these settlements of natives who have been made children of Holy Mother Church, for it is unquestionably a great thing for them to live apart from the heathen villages, uncontaminated by the vices and gross superstitions always rampant among the natives of this country.²⁰²

In 1910 there were 150 married Christian couples at Chishawasha living in seven or eight large kraals quite close to the church. The editor of the *Zambesi Mission Record* stated:

These kraals, are entirely Christian both in population and spirit, and it is a rare pleasure to visit them and see the scores of children whose parents are, like themselves, members of the Catholic Church. In the opinion of many, the missionaries at Chishawasha have achieved no greater triumph than ... inducing ... 300 young men and women, brought up in pagan and unclean surroundings, to leave their people and their father's house for the sake of their Father who is in Heaven.²⁰³

The success of Christian villages at Chishawasha must be qualified. Mr Stan Mushonga Chimombe of Chishawasha said that many people left Chishawasha because they did not want to be forced to live in Christian villages where they were forbidden to practise their traditional customs. They went to Chikwaka, Seke, Chinyika and Chinamhora.²⁰⁴

Moreover, missionary work through Christian villages did not outlive the 1920s. As Dachs and Rea correctly pointed out, the future was against it. They added:

The Rhodesian economy wanted African labour and Africans wanted money from urban employment, and the consequent fluidity of the population was fatal to that stability which was both one of the requirements of the Christian village and one of its chief recommendations. Moreover ... Christian villages served to encourage and stimulate African urbanisation and the thirst for cash earnings from the town. The villages around the mission stations reproduced urban conditions on a small scale, ushered the African adherent ... into a new life and whetted his appetite for consumer goods and self reliance in the cities. In addition to their specific purpose of separating the Christian African from his traditional environment, the mission villages introduced him almost unconsciously into urban life and prompted the drift to the White towns that became a new threat to missionary success and the Christian survival of the new convert.²⁰⁵

Before the 1920s, however, Christian villages served as an important evangelistic agency.

The Wesleyans established a Christian village at Epworth in order to transform the lives of the converts completely. When the Reverend Alfred S. Sharp visited Epworth in January, 1900 he said that quite a transformation had been effected. 'In the place of a few dilapidated Mashona huts', he said, 'we have now a well-laid out village, with wide streets, sanitary lanes, and neat gardens ... Our rule is that every inhabitant must build a square house, or at least a house as near square as possible to a native, and already the village presents a very pleasing view; a model of a missionary settlement'.²⁰⁶ The Reverend J.W. Stanlake was very pleased with the improvement which had taken place at Epworth since Sharp's visit there in January, 1900. He said that the converts had built a village of square houses, abolished polygamy and erected a church, every brick of which had been moulded by their own hands.²⁰⁷

Mr Wilson Muzambwa of Epworth stressed that the Christian village at Epworth was not intended for Christians only but it was hoped that in time the Christians would convert the non-Christians.²⁰⁸

The Wesleyans also established a Christian village at Altona mission where the Christians lived by themselves on a small plot of land adjoining the mission. They made a model village where they lived almost like one large family.²⁰⁹

VII

The Role of African Catechists, Evangelists and Ministers, (1899-1923)

The missionaries also utilised African catechists, evangelists and ministers to witness to their own people. The role played by African Christians in evangelising their own people, was perhaps best summed up by Hugo Söderström who argued that while the missionaries brought the Gospel to Africa, it was the indigenous Christians, evangelists and teachers who brought the Gospel to the Africans. 'Without the work of African evangelists and teachers', he said, 'the Christian Church would still be a tiny tree in the dry African soil'.²¹⁰ The Wesleyans, for example, learnt from experience that the most effective method of presenting the Gospel, was by Africans witnessing to fellow Africans.²¹¹ The Reverend M.J. Murphree of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, shared these sentiments. 'The quickest and most effective way to win Africa for Christ', he wrote in 1922, 'is through the trained native'.²¹² Indeed the expansion of the Church in Zimbabwe during this pioneer period, was largely due to the African catechists and evangelists who carried the Gospel to their own people. Three examples will suffice.

The catechist Cassiano Ushewokunze, was instrumental in starting the Kutama parish.²¹³ Job Tsigia, an evangelist for the American Methodist Episcopal Church, did splendid work in evangelising his own people and his life was an inspiration to all.²¹⁴

Perhaps the most outstanding evangelist during this pioneer period, was Njamhlope, a former *n'anga* (traditional doctor) who was converted by Fr Andrew Hartman in January, 1899, was educated at Empandeni and pioneered the work at Embakwe mission in 1902. He catechised women and children in the open air. In addition to his teaching responsibilities, he visited nearby villages every Sunday and preached to the people in their homes. His eloquence and earnestness won over the inhabitants.²¹⁵ The Jesuit missionary at Empandeni, Fr A. Lebouf, said that Njamhlope was one of the most sincere and exemplary men he had ever met, 'so good and edifying, so anxious for the conversion of others that we had not the slightest hesitation in entrusting the important work of teaching others to him'.²¹⁶ The most eloquent testimony to Njamhlope's work was provided by Fr O'Neil in 1906:

This man's influence and example have done more than words can say ... a dozen native catechists of Njamhlope's type would be a blessing untold to any missionary, and would enable him to convert a multitude of heathen in a comparatively short time ... Simple, earnest, modest, prayerful and, which is the rarest of all, perfectly unassuming, he is the model of what a Christian native should be, and, though entirely unconscious of it himself, he has won a debt of gratitude from us which it would be difficult to repay.²¹⁷

The success of the missionaries during this pioneer period, was largely due to the work of African evangelists of Njamhlope's calibre. The expansion of the Church of Sweden in Zimbabwe, for example, was largely due to the important role played by African evangelists in witnessing to fellow Africans during the pioneer period. In 1912 there were 5 evangelists; in 1915 there were 10 and in 1919 there were 22. Some of the most prominent evangelists were Petrus Kgobe, Jeremias Shumba, Samson Sibanda and Cleopas Hungwe who was the first convert of the Church of Sweden to be baptised at Mnene by Pastor A.R. Kempe in 1911.²¹⁸

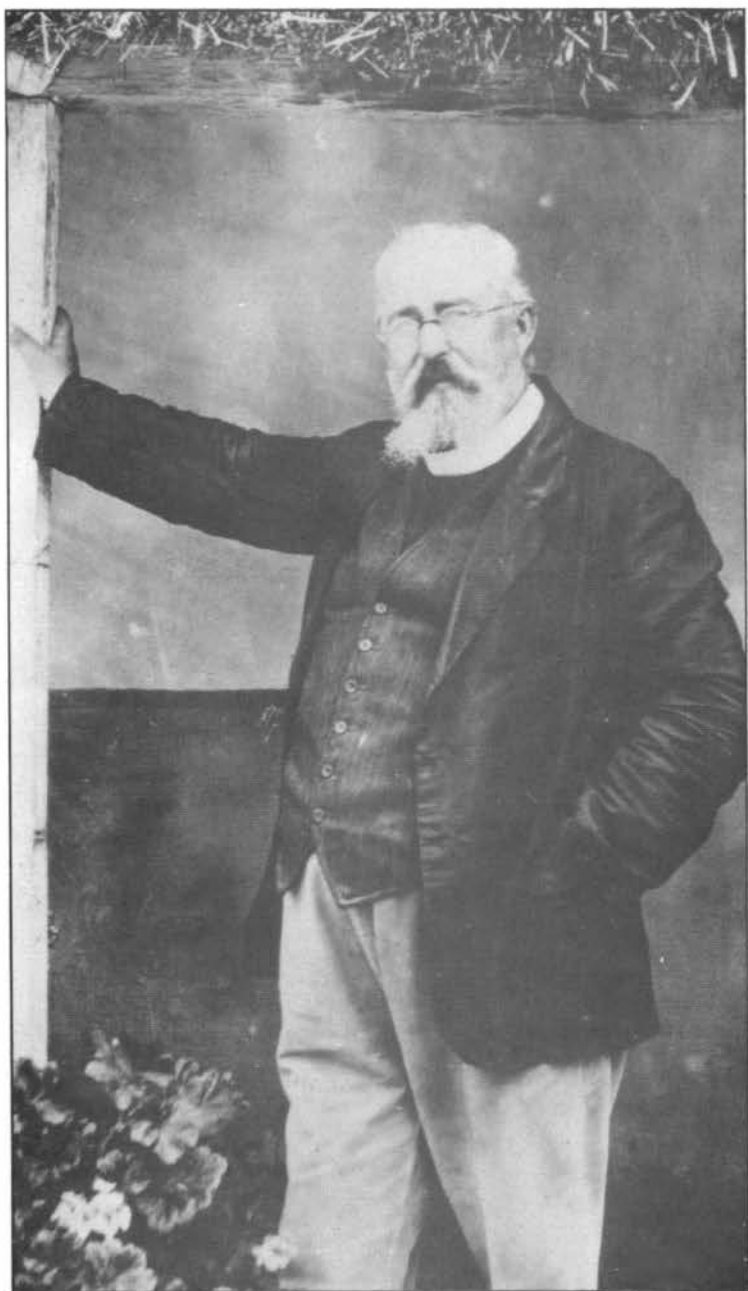
The careers of Sisho Moyo, Mtompe Khumalo, Sitjenkwa Hlabangana, Samuel Mhlanga and Leonard Sagonda illustrate the important role played by African ministers in witnessing to their own people during this pioneer period.

Sisho Moyo was educated at Hope Fountain mission, was diligent in the inquirers' class, taught in the school held under a tree and preached on Sundays. For five years, he worked as a teacher-evangelist on probation in the Hope Fountain District. He was particularly good in dealing with young people who looked up to him and respected him. In 1912 he was ordained and became the first African minister of the London Missionary Society in Matabeleland.²¹⁹

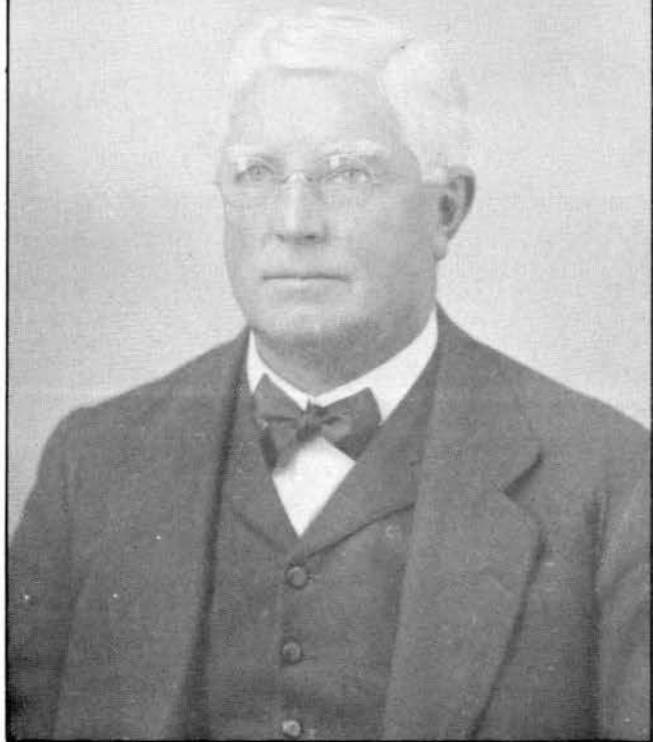
Mtompe Khumalo attended school at Hope Fountain; worked for six months at Bushtick Mine, about 30 miles from Bulawayo; returned to Hope Fountain and after he had learnt to read and write sufficiently well, he was sent to open a village school at Intabayezinyoka where he did so well that in 1914 he entered the course for African ministers at Tiger Kloof; was ordained at Hope Fountain in 1917 and became the second African minister of London Missionary Society in Matabeleland.²²⁰ His son, Mr Tshupu Khumalo, described his father as a humble man who did not put himself above the people he worked with; he was like their servant. He loved people (*wayethanda abantu*); loved the Church (*wayethanda isonto*) and loved to work (*wayethanda ukusebenza*).²²¹

Sitjenkwa Hlabangana attended school at Hope Fountain; worked at Centenary as a teacher-evangelist after which he was sent to Tiger Kloof for two years' teacher training. When he returned, he continued to work as a teacher-evangelist. In 1916 the missionaries decided to send him to train for the ministry. Accordingly, in 1917 he and the whole family went to Tiger Kloof. In 1921 he was ordained at Hope Fountain and became the third African minister of the LMS in Matabeleland. He served the LMS first at Lonely Mine in the Inyati district and then at Essexvale in the Hope Fountain district.²²²

Samuel Mhlanga was a young boy when the first White settlers arrived at Chipinge in 1890. At that time he was herding his father's goats. In 1893 he left for Selukwe where he worked in the mines for four months. He returned home just before the Anglo-Ndebele war of 1893. He stayed at home until 1895 when he left to work in the mines at Penhalonga. In 1897 he found employment as a waiter at the Police Camp in Umtali. He worked for eight months. Sergeant H. Brerton took him to Salisbury to be his cook. While working in Salisbury, he attended a night school taught by a Sotho teacher called Simon Mooti and learned to read and write English. When the Knight-Bruce Memorial College was opened in 1900 he was one of the pioneer students. In 1903 the Principal of St Augustine's, the Reverend E.H. Etheridge, sent Mhlanga to Salisbury to replace Simon Mooti as teacher at the night school which was held in a wood and iron building near the old Cathedral. Before leaving St Augustine's, he was baptised and confirmed by Bishop William Thomas Gaul. In Salisbury he cleaned the Cathedral and cooked for Bishop Gaul who lived on the premises. He worked at the night school under the Reverend E.J. Parker who sent him and a friend, Nathaniel Murapa, to found a new mission at St Mary's, Hunyani. They built two huts and planted some gum trees. In 1906 Mhlanga and the Reverend Parker toured the Lomagundi District to raise money to build St Michael's Church in Salisbury. From this journey and from writing letters to friends who had gone to South Africa as migrant labourers, he raised a great deal of money. When St Michael's Church in Manica Road was opened at the end of 1906 he was appointed to take charge of the congregation which had 20 baptised members and 16 catechumens. In 1907 he was married in St Michael's Church to Naseyi, a young woman from his home area whom he had sent to school at Mt. Selinda. The ceremony was conducted by Reverend Parker and blessed by Bishop Gaul. In 1911 Mhlanga was sent to pioneer the work at St Joseph's mission in the Seke Reserve near the Bromley Siding where he worked for six years. In 1917 Bishop Frederick Hicks Beaven sent Mhlanga to Rosettenville Theological College in Johannesburg for two years. He returned to be ordained Deacon in the Salisbury Anglican Cathedral on 2nd February, 1919. He worked at St David's Mission, Bonda, for three years under the Reverend



Fr J. Loubiere: first resident priest at Kutama; apostle of Industrial education at Kutama. *(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)*



Dr Samuel Gurney: Medical missionary of the American Methodist Episcopal Church.
(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)



Dr M.H. Steyn: Medical missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church; arrived at Morgenster Mission in 1924
(Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)



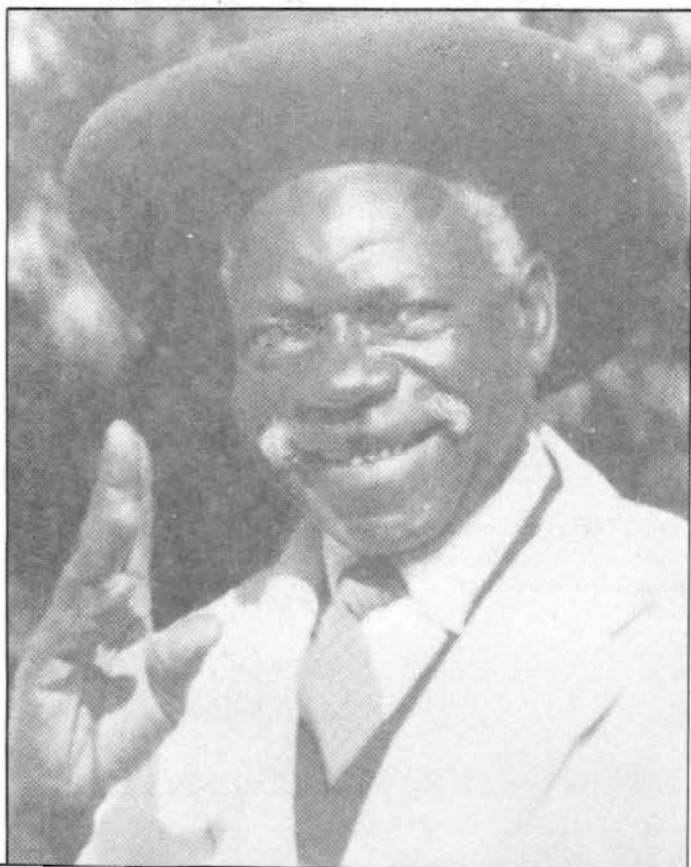
Sister Madge Dry: pioneered medical work at Waddilove. (Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)



Dr Denys Taylor, Sr Lorne Page and their staff at Bonda Hospital. (Photo: National Archives of Zimbabwe)



Sister Agatha M. Battersby:
Medical Missionary of the Salvation
Army; arrived at Howard Institute in
March, 1928. (Photo: *National Ar-
chives of Zimbabwe*)



Revd Ezra Shumba:
Ordained Minister of the Dutch
Reformed Church on 27 Au-
gust, 1938. (Photo: *National
Archives of Zimbabwe*)

S.J. Christelow at the end of which, he left for St Augustine's to prepare for the priesthood. He was ordained priest on 25th January, 1923.²²³

Leonard Sagonda was born in the Nyanga District and was educated at St Augustine's where he was converted. He worked for a while on a farm, herding cattle before leaving for Salisbury to seek employment. He attended a night school and before long, was appointed a catechist for St Michael's Church. In 1921 he was sent to St Augustine's to train for the ministry. He was ordained Deacon in January, 1923.²²⁴

Among the American Methodists, one of the prominent African ministers during this pioneer period, was the Reverend David Mandisodza who was appointed to take charge of the Headlands Circuit in 1923. The Reverend T.A. O'Farrell commented on this appointment: 'This is a new departure and it is too early to judge the total result. But so far the plan has worked well, and ... seems to indicate the truth of what we have all believed, that more and more some of the work of supervising out-stations can be entrusted to our native ministers'.²²⁵ In the event, Mandisodza acquitted himself well in the work of the ministry.

Thus, it was the African catechists, evangelists and ministers who, singly and collectively, laboured tirelessly in God's vineyard to bring the Gospel to their own people.

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18. Peter Prestage, 'The Kraal Family System', op.cit., p.445.
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60. M. Gelfand, *The Genuine Shona*, (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1973), pp. 176-8.
61. R.P. Hatendi, 'Shona Marriage and the Christian Churches', J.A. Dachs (ed.), *Christianity South of the Zambezi*, (Gwelo, Mambo Press, Vol. 1, 1973), pp.138-9.
62. R. Sykes, 'Hindrances', op.cit., p.55.
63. Adam Parazva Chimombe was born in 1917. He did Sub-Standard A to Standard 5 at Chishawasha (1925-1932) and was converted to Catholicism because his parents were Catholics. He worked for six years (1933-1938); was married at Kutama in 1939; returned to Chishawasha and worked in Salisbury for many years after which he retired. He is an ordinary member of the Catholic Church at Chishawasha. (Interview with Mr Adam Parazva Chimombe, Chishawasha, 4/10/1992), p.1.
64. *Ibid*, p.2
65. Stan Mushonga Chimombe, the son of the Mr Adam Parazva Chimombe, was born at Kutama on 9th July, 1941. He did Sub-Standard A to the Primary Teacher's Higher Certificate at Kutama (1949-1960). He has been teaching ever since. (Interview with Mr Stan Mushonga Chimombe, Chishawasha, 4/10/92), p.1.
66. *Ibid.*, p.2.
67. Revd K.S.B. Dhlwayo was born in 1902/1903 at Melsetter. He did Sub-Standard A to Standard 3 at Rusitu Mission (1919-1923). Because of lack of funds, he was unable to go to Mt. Selinda for further education. In 1924 he worked in Umtali for Mr J. Condy (Inspector of Schools) and Mr L.M. Foggin (Director of Education). He did Standards 4 to 7 at Mt. Selinda (1925-1928) where he was baptized by the Revd John Marsh (1927). He taught at the Wesleyan Border Church School, four and half miles from Waddilove (1929-1932). He married on 22nd June, 1933 and taught at Marandellas Location School (1933-1934). In 1935 he went to Waddilove to do a one-year course in Theology. Among his contemporaries were Messrs. M. J. Rusike, T.D. Samkange and E.T.J. Nemapare. He taught at Tshankwa, a Wesleyan Methodist school ten miles from Plumtree (1936-1938). He taught at Gwambe, a Wesleyan Methodist school seven and half miles from Tsegwani (1939-1941). At the end of 1941 he returned to Mt. Selinda. In 1942 he taught at Emerald School, three miles from Mt.Selinda. In 1943 he completed a Theology course at Mt. Selinda. In 1944 he served as an evangelist at Garahwa School near the Mozambique border. In 1945 he was ordained a minister at Chikore mission after which he worked full time for the American Congregational Church until his retirement in 1961. (Interview with Revd K.S.B. Dhlwayo, Hatfield, Harare, 12th November, 1991), p.1.
68. *Ibid.*, p.2.
69. Pastor S.K. Mundeta was born in 1920; did Sub-Standard A to Standard 5 at Chikore mission (1934-1940) and was baptized at Chikore mission in 1940. In 1941 he taught at Penhalonga Location School. In 1942 he completed Standard 6 at Mt. Selinda after which he taught for

five years (1943-1947). He married in 1947; worked as a District Dip Supervisor for Chipinge (1948-1952) and trained as a pastor at Rusitu Bible School (1954-1956). In 1957 he was appointed Pastor for Chikore mission, a post he still holds. (Interview with Pastor S.K. Mundeta, Chikore Mission, 7th May, 1992), p.1.

70. *Ibid.*, p.2.

71. *Benedict Kamangira Kutama*, the son of Headman Stephen Kutama, was born in 1908. He did Sub-Standard A to Standard 3 at Kutama (1914-1918) after which he left for Salisbury in search of employment to enable him to pay his hut tax. He worked in Salisbury for many years until he retired. (Interview with Benedict Kamangira Kutama, Kutama Village, 11th March 1992), p.1.

72. *Ibid.*, p.2.

73. *Mr Tshupu Khumalo*, the son of Revd Mtompe Khumalo, was born on 24th December, 1924. He did Sub-Standard A to Standard 1 at Sivalo Primary School in Shangani (1937-1939); Standards 2 to 4 at Hope Fountain (1940-1942); Standards 5 and 6 at Inyati (1943-1944) where he also trained as a builder. He returned to Hope Fountain in 1945; worked for a building company in Bulawayo and then for himself. He went for further training as a builder after which he began to do contract work. He retired and lives about three kilometres from Hope Fountain (Interview with Mr Tshupu Khumalo, Hope Fountain, 20/8/92), p.1.

74. *Ibid.*, p.2.

75. *Revd Philemon M. Khumalo* was born on 25th June, 1918 in Filabusi. He did Sub-Standards A and B at a village school near Wanezi mission (1932-1933); Standards 1 to 4 at Matopo mission (1934-1939); teacher training at Matopo mission (1940-1941). He taught at the following schools: Matopo mission (1942-1944); Mkwabeni in the Wanezi district (1945); Dadaya under Mr Garfield Todd (1946); Shabani Location School (1947); Dadaya (1948-1950); Matopo mission (1951-1959). In 1960 he left teaching to become overseer of the Matopo district. In 1961 he was offered a scholarship to go to the United States to train for the ministry. He trained at Messiah Theological College in Pennsylvania (1961-1962); returned home in 1962 and served as overseer and minister of the Matopo district (1962-1969). In 1969 he was elected Bishop of the Brethren in Christ Church and served for 10 years (1969-1979) and retired in 1979. In 1980 he was appointed Principal of Ekuphileni Bible Institute at Mtshabezi and served for 9 years (1980-1988). He resigned in 1988. (Interview with Bishop Philemon M. Khumalo, Montrose, Bulawayo, 19/8/92), p.1.

76. *Ibid.*, p.2.

77. *Bishop M.S. Senda* was born on 6th November, 1941 at Malole in the Insiza District of Matabeleland South Province in a family of 10 children. He did Sub-Standard A at Gwabala School (1949); Sub-Standard B to Standard 2 at Malole School (1950-1952); Standard 3 at Mambo Government School in Gwelo (1953); Standards 4 to 6 at Usher Institute (1954-1956). He worked for two years (1957-1958) and was baptized at Wanezi mission by the Revd Mangisi Sibanda in 1959. He did teacher training at Mtshabezi mission (1961-1962) and taught at Gwakwe School (1963). In 1964 he was appointed Deputy Head of the School for one term. He was then called back to Mtshabezi Primary School to be one of the monitors

of teacher training students as a Critic teacher. In 1965 he was appointed assistant pastor and Headmaster of Nkashu Primary School in Gwanda District and served for seven years. Due to poor health, he terminated his services as Headmaster and was appointed assistant teacher at nearby Zhugwe School where he served for seven years. At the same time he joined an in-service Bible course at Ekuphileni Brethren in Christ Church Bible School. He completed the course in six years and obtained a Diploma in Theology. He joined the Department of Theological Education by Extension (T.E.E.) at Ekuphileni Bible School and served as a teacher for Brethren in Christ Church leaders-Pastors, Deacons, Sunday School Instructors and all those who held leadership positions in the Church. During Zimbabwe's liberation war, he found it difficult to operate in the rural areas and moved to Bulawayo where he served as T.E.E. Instructor for four years until 1981 when the organisation ran out of funds. At the same time, he visited Government schools under the Right of Entry Programme. He re-joined the Ministry of Education for one year and at the same time was elected a member of the Executive Board of the Brethren in Christ Church in Zimbabwe. In 1982 he was elected full-time overseer of 46 Brethren in Christ Church congregations. At the same time, he was elected Assistant Chairman of the Brethren in Christ Church Zimbabwe Conference. He served as Assistant Chairman until 1989 when he was elected Bishop of the Brethren in Christ Church in Zimbabwe and took over the position in 1990. (Written Communication from Bishop M.S. Senda, 27th October, 1992), pp. 1-2.

78. Ibid., p.3.
79. Revd S.L. Masuku was born on 26th March, 1925 in Filabusi District of Matabeleland South Province. He did Sub-Standard A to Standard 2 at Ntuneni Primary School of the Brethren in Christ Church (1938-1941); Standard 3 at Hyde Park Methodist School in Bulawayo (1942); Standard 4 at Luveve Primary School (1943); Standards 5 and 6 at Solusi (1946-1947). He taught in Nkayi (1948-1950); did secondary education at Solusi (1951-1954). He started teaching at Solusi Primary School in 1955. In 1956 he started teaching Ndebele and Bible Knowledge at Solusi Secondary School until 1965 when he decided to train for the ministry. He trained for the ministry for four years (1965-1968). In 1971 he was ordained a minister of the Seventh Day Adventist Church. He retired as pastor of Solusi mission in 1991. (WC from Pastor S.L. Masuku, 19th November, 1991), pp. 1-2.
80. WC from Pastor S.L. Masuku, 6th December, 1991, pp. 1-2.
81. F.W.T. Posselt, 'Native Marriage', *NADA*, (1923-1928), 1926, P.51.
82. Ibid., p.52.
83. Charles Bullock, *Mashona Laws and Customs*, (Cape Town, Juta and Company, 1912) pp.21-22.
84. M.F.C. Bourdillon, *The Shona Peoples*, (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1976), p.41.
85. M. Gelfand, *The Genuine Shona*, op.cit., p.174.
86. J.F. Holleman, *Shona Customary Law*, (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1952), pp.161-2.
87. Ibid., p. 124. Bullock agrees with the view that the *nugariri* can regain his freedom after the *lobola* paid for one of his daughters is handed over to her grandfather (mother's father). See Charles Bullock, *The Mashona and Matabele*, (Cape Town, Juta and Company, 1950), pp.

- 53-4. Bourdillon disagrees with the view that the *mugariri* can regain his freedom: 'He was likely to become something of a slave to his father-in-law's family for the rest of his life, although he could be freed of his obligations and allowed to set up an independent homestead after many years of marriage'. See Bourdillon, *The Shona Peoples*, op.cit., p.44.
88. M. Gelfand, *The Genuine Shona*, op.cit., p.173.
89. R.P. Hatendi, op.cit., pp. 144-5.
90. *Mr Wilson Muzambwa*, the grand nephew of the late Chief Chiremba of Epworth, was born at Epworth on 8th June, 1918. He did Sub-Standard A to Standard 5 at Epworth (1930-1936); teacher training at Waddilove (1937-1938); taught at St Mary's, Hunyani, (1939-19141); returned to and taught at Epworth (1942-1952); worked in commerce and industry (1953-1982); returned to teaching and taught at Nyakuchena School in Mutoko (1983 - 1986) after which he retired. (Interview with Mr Wilson Muzambwa, Epworth Mission, 27/9/92), p.1.
91. *Ibid.*, p.2.
92. Interview with Mr Stan Mushonga Chimombe, op.cit., 4/10/92.
93. Interview with Mr Adam Parazva Chimombe, op.cit., 4/10/92).
94. *Mrs Tshambu Magdalena Tshuma* was born around 1888 at Silima where she grew up and attended school. She remembers the early missionaries - Frs. Andrew Hartmann, A Lebouf, Peter Prestage and F. Richartz - who, she said, went around the villages exhorting people to become Christians. She said she found Christianity so appealing that she gladly embraced it and was baptized by Fr Richartz. On the other hand, the traditionalists were strongly opposed to Christianity and in fact, threatened the converts for embracing Christianity. She was married on 26th December, 1922 to Tidathi Mpofu, son of Chief Sindisa of the Empandeni area who, with Lobengula's permission, granted missionaries the site on which they established Empandeni mission. She is a mine of information on the early history of Empandeni, so much so that when Pope John Paul II visited Zimbabwe in 1988, she was given a Papal medal for her knowledge of the early history of Empandeni. She showed me the medal. She is a member of the Zimbabwe Catholic Women's Association. (Interview with Mrs Tshambu Magdalena Tshuma, Empandeni mission, 22/10/91), p.1. For an account of Fr Peter Prestage's visits to Sindisa in search of a site to start Empandeni mission, see 'The Diary of Fr Peter Prestage', in M. Gelfand (ed.), *Letters and Journals of the early Jesuit Missionaries to Zambesia 1879-1887*, (London, Geoffrey Chapman, 1968).
95. Interview with Mrs. Magadelana Tshambu Tshuma, op.cit., 22/10/91, p.2.
96. *Mrs M. Gumbo* was born in 1906 at Essexvale. She did Sub-Standards A and B at Matopo mission and Standards 1 and 2 at Mtshabezi after which she returned home. She was baptized and married in 1927. She is still with the Church (Interview with Mrs M. Gumbo, Matopo Mission, 24/10/91), p.1.
97. *Ibid.*, p.2.
98. Interview with Bishop Philemon M. Khumalo, op.cit., 19/8/92, p.2.

99. *Mrs Cecilia Gwebu* was born of Christian parents in Filabusi District on 26th December, 1930. She did Sub-Standards A and B at Dekezi Primary School (1939-1940); Standards 1 and 2 at Ncema Primary School in Filabusi (1943); Standards 4 to 6 at Hope Fountain (1944-1946) and teacher training at Hope Fountain (1947-1948). She taught at the following schools: Glassblock Primary School in Gwanda (1949-1951); Hope Fountain (1952-1953); Ncema Primary School (1954-1955); Hope Fountain (1956) and Glassblock Primary School (1957). She returned to Hope Fountain in 1958 and has been teaching there ever since. (Interview with Mrs Cecilia Gwebu, Hope Fountain, 20/8/92), p.1.
100. *Ibid.*, p.2.
101. *Revd Joshua Richardson Danisa* was born at Essexvale (now Esigodini) on 9th November, 1916. He did Sub-Standard A to Standard 4 at Hope Fountain (1924-1929); Standards 5 and 6 at Inyati (1930-1934); teacher training at Inyati (1935-1936); taught at Inyati Primary School (1937-1939); went to Tiger Kloof for secondary education and to train for the ministry (1940-1942); was ordained minister in 1943 and served in that capacity (1943-1945); served as a minister of the London Missionary Society in Serowe, Botswana (1946-1955); returned to Zimbabwe and served at Hope Fountain (1955-1972). In 1973 he was appointed General Secretary of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, a position he has held since. (Interview with Revd Joshua Richardson Danisa, NICOZ House, Bulawayo, 21/10/91), p.1. See also Iris Clinton, *Hope Fountain Story*, (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1969), pp.62-3).
102. Interview with Revd Joshua Richardson Danisa, op.cit., 21/10/91, p.2.
103. *Revd J.M. Zvobgo* was born around 1904 in Mutirikwi Communal Area of Masvingo Province. He did Sub-Standard A to Standard 6 at Morgenster Mission (1914-1921); served as a teacher and evangelist for the Dutch Reformed Church (1922-1930); was married by the Revd J.F. Roux (1930); continued to work as a teacher and evangelist (1930-1933); did teacher training at Morgenster (1934-1935); took an Elementary Teacher's course at Morgenster (1936); taught at Morgenster (1937-1939) and at Charingeno Primary School in Zaka (1940-1945) after which he retired. (Interview with Revd J.M. Zvobgo at Shonganiso Mission, 20th December, 1991), p.1. For background to the formation of the African Reformed Church, see M.L. Daneel, *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches*, (The Hague, Mouton, Vol I, 1971), pp.365-9. For the role of Shonganiso Mission in African development in Mutirikwi Communal Area, see M.L. Daneel, 'Shona Independent Churches in a Rural Society', in A.J. Dachs (ed.) *Christianity South of the Zambezi*, (Gwelo, Mambo Press, Vol. 1, 1973, pp. 172-4.
104. Interview with Revd J.M. Zvobgo, op.cit., 20/12/91, p.2.
105. WC from Pastor S.L. Masuku, 6th December, 1991.
106. *Revd David Pedzisai Mandebyu* was born on 1st January, 1917 at Nyangwe Hill on the shores of Lake Mutirikwi in Masvingo Province. He did Sub-Standard A at Rukovo Primary School (1928); Sub-Standard B and Standard 1 at the Basuto Primary School in Chinhango (1932-1933); Standards 2 to 5 at Morgenster Primary School (1934-1937). He combined Standard 5 with a Teacher's course. He continued teacher training and completed the three-year course in 1939. He taught at Morgenster Primary School (1940-1947). In 1948 he began to train for the ministry at the Murray Theological College at Morgenster. At the same time, he began external studies with the Luceum College in South Africa. By 1949 he had obtained a

National Junior Certificate. He completed ministerial training at Morgenster in 1951 and was appointed to found and head a new congregation at Sote in Gutu. He was ordained on 23rd June, 1953. At the end of the year, he sat for the National Senior Certificate examinations and passed. He headed the Sote congregation (1952-1954) and the Gwelo congregation (1954-1960). In 1961 he was appointed the first African Lecturer at Murray Theological College to train ministers for the Dutch Reformed Church. From 1966 to 1969 he served as Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church in Zimbabwe. In 1975 he completed the Bachelor of Theology Degree with the University of South Africa by external studies and graduated in 1976. During Zimbabwe's liberation war when all white missionaries left Morgenster, he became the first African Principal of Murray Theological College. In the absence of all white missionaries, he had to attend to the educational, medical, farming and church work at Morgenster in addition to teaching at the Murray Theological College. He retired from principalship of Murray Theological College in 1982 and returned to teaching. He was one of the first teachers at Morgenster Secondary School where he taught for 8 years (1982-1989) after which he retired. (WC from Revd D.P. Mandebvu, 7th October, 1992), pp. 1-8.

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Chapter 5

Christian Mission and Western Education, 1898-1923

We saw in the previous Chapter that Christian missionaries found the old generation of Africans in Zimbabwe very difficult to evangelise. We also saw that in spite of the opposition to Christianity from the old generation, a sizeable Christian community was formed in Zimbabwe between 1898 and 1923. This was partly due to the translation of the Scriptures and related literature into the vernacular and the establishment of Christian villages. Undoubtedly, the most potent agency in the evangelisation of the Africans of Zimbabwe between 1898 and 1923 was Western education. In this Chapter, we shall examine the impact of Western education on the Africans of Zimbabwe between 1898 and 1923. But before we consider the impact of Western education during this period, we should examine in some detail the *rationale* for the establishment of educational institutions.

The Rationale for the Establishment of Educational Institutions

Initially, the main objective of missionary education was religious. In order to strengthen the faith of the converts, it was felt necessary that they should be able to read the Bible and the church's instructions about its faith. It was largely for this reason that instruction in reading was begun.¹

That the major objective of missionary education initially was to recruit church members who would go out to evangelise their own people, is quite evident from the literature extant. The missionaries of the Church of Sweden, for example, regarded the school as the main gate into the Church.² The Catholic missionaries shared these sentiments. They believed that without schools, 'there would be no missions, no African attendance, no adherents, no success... Pupils meant catechumens and converts'.³ Among missionaries of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, the primary purpose for establishing schools was the conviction that education was 'essential for the successful spread of Christianity in Africa. As such, schools were considered auxiliary agencies in the evangelisation of Africa'.⁴ This was clearly stated by the Superintendent of the Umtali District, the Revd J.R. Gates. 'Our educational method', he wrote in 1921, 'must maintain as its supreme objective the Christianisation of those who are taught ... In almost every instance our day schools and boarding schools are holding to this standard and so earnestly is the work done

that... above 80% of those who accept Christianity are first and for sometime attendants upon the school'.⁵ 'The chief aim of our school', the Revd Robert C. Gates of Old Umtali mission wrote in 1923, 'is to train Christian leaders. To this end, we train and send out men who will return to their own people to preach and teach'.⁶ The same applied to the SDA missionaries whose primary objective was to educate people for the Church's sake.⁷ Among the missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church, the main aim of education initially was to teach the converts and potential converts to read the Bible.⁸ The Anglicans and the Wesleyans saw literary education as 'a powerful force by which to weaken the influence of indigenous religion, superstition and witchcraft on African society and expedite the acceptance of Christianity'.⁹ The Revd Cullen Reed of the London Missionary Society was quite explicit when he wrote in 1906: 'You must educate the native to break down superstition, to give information of the natural laws of life and health which will explain much that is now attributed to witchcraft. You must educate if your converts are to understand the Bible, and if your evangelists are to be intelligent preachers and guides of the people'.¹⁰ With these preliminary remarks, we must now examine the beginnings and impact of Western education in Matabeleland, Mashonaland and Manicaland from 1898 to 1923. We shall begin with Matabeleland.

I

Christian Missions and Western Education In Matabeleland, 1898 - 1923

In their program to provide Western education, the missionaries in Matabeleland as elsewhere in Zimbabwe, turned their energies to the children. In a letter to Marshall Hartley on 18th May, 1899 Isaac Shimmin stated: 'It is with the children that our aim, and indeed our sole hope of building up a Christian community in this country rests and from the beginning it is our aim to endeavour to provide them with a Christian education'.¹¹ Fr Richard Sykes emphasised the importance of getting children to come to school. 'It is in their early plastic days', he wrote in January, 1902, 'that the lessons of our holy religion can best sink into the minds of the natives and influence their hearts and their actions before ingrained prejudices and vicious habits have acquired a permanent hold'.¹²

Initially, parents were reluctant to send their children to school. This was best illustrated by the Revd H.Oswald Brigg of the Tegwani Circuit who wrote in 1909:

The excuses given by the parents are almost bewildering in their ingenuity and cunning... A favourite excuse is that the child is sick. This reason was given on a recent visit to a kraal... We stayed and chatted a while with the people and presently through the trees there came several little girls carrying large loads of firewood on their heads. The largest load was carried by the girl who was 'too sick' to come to school. Another favourite reason is that the child refuses to come to school in spite of the pleadings of the parents... Again, they say that the mother is sick and the child must do her work ... Sometimes they will go so far as to say that they have no children, but a surprise visit to the kraal just about sundown discloses a wealth of young life.¹³

Not only were the parents reluctant to send their children to school; the children themselves were equally reluctant to go to school. Fr Sykes said that the main difficulty with the children was to get them to come to school at all; the other was to get them to come regularly. He added that the children had to be induced to come to school and then to come regularly.¹⁴ This was confirmed by Mrs Tshambu Magdalena Tshuma who said that the children initially were indeed reluctant to come to school and the missionaries had to resort to giving presents of sweets and clothes to induce those who came to school to attend school regularly. This was usually done after the Sunday Mass.¹⁵

At Empandeni, for example, the Sisters of Notre Dame offered beads to induce the children to come to school but they soon found that the interesting pupils did not return. They stayed at home to thread the beads having got what they wanted. Furthermore, the pupils expected a reward for making the smallest effort. On one occasion a Sister was teaching several big girls how to use a sewing machine. At the end of the lesson, they demanded payment. She gave one bead to each girl for each day's work.¹⁶ The Sisters also encouraged the children to come to school as often as they could by giving every child a chance to win a prize now and then. They gave pupils marks for regular attendance as well as good conduct and proficiency. Each Friday Sister Xavier read out the marks and rewarded those whose total amounted to 100 with something they were sure to value. This increased the children's desire to get on and made them anxious to attend school as often as they could.¹⁷

The syllabus at Empandeni consisted of reading and dictation from the Ndebele Catechism, addition, subtraction, multiplication and a few Geographical facts and terms.¹⁸ For industrial work, the Sisters taught the older girls cooking, baking,

washing and ironing clothes, dairy work, gardening, weaving, mat-making and sewing.¹⁹ At Empandeni's four out-stations at Mkaya, Silima, Kwhite and Mhlotshana, industrial work taught by Fr Biehler, consisted of carpentry, building, blacksmithing, well-sinking, gardening and basket-making. Carpentry was particularly important. Using wood from the surrounding district, Fr Biehler taught the pupils the process of felling timber, sawing, preparing timber for cutting, straightening and maturing it, including the dipping process to render it ant and borer proof, the making of beds, shelves, chairs and doors for themselves. Industrial training for girls was handled with equal care and success. The girls were taught sewing and basket-making. By 1923 the older girls had mastered the art of sewing so well that they could cut material and make their own clothes.²⁰

The children's desire to learn was also evident at Matopo mission. We get a glimpse of the beginnings of Western education at Matopo mission from one of the pioneer missionaries, Miss Frances Davidson, who recalled that when the school was opened at the mission on 11th October, 1898 the pupils were exceedingly eager to learn: 'They had never seen books, and writing was almost like magic to them. To put down characters on paper and from those to spell out their names when they next visited the mission was little less than witchcraft'. The first morning of the school, 12 bright-looking boys and girls entered the tent and sat down on the floor, curious to know what school was like. The second day 8 more pupils were enrolled; the third, 14 and by the end of the month there were 40. She said that to enable the pupils to read and understand the word of God was the main aim of the school work and the Bible was the textbook throughout. The missionaries also taught the pupils to memorise certain portions of the Scriptures and the singing of hymns for purposes of daily worship.²¹ The basic curriculum at Matopo mission consisted of reading, spelling, Arithmetic and writing²² but the Bible continued to be the major textbook.²³ Indeed, Bishop H.P. Steigerwald emphasised the Christian character of the school when he wrote in 1909 that the school was confined largely to those who were seeking a knowledge of God and were prepared to help others.²⁴

At the four LMS schools at Inyati, Hope Fountain, Dombodema and Centenary, the curriculum consisted of a two-year or three-year course in the Three Rs for both boys and girls. There was a strong scriptural content, some physical drill and where a missionary's wife was available, some domestic training for girls.²⁵ In addition, in 1898 an artisan missionary, Mr George Wilkerson, introduced industrial training for boys at Hope Fountain. He began with three boys as the nucleus of the industrial institution and ended the year with seven.²⁶ Two more boys joined him in March, 1899.²⁷ During the three-year course, the boys learnt rough carpentry, tinsmithing,

blacksmithing, building and cobbling and during the last two years, they specialised in one or other of these trades.²⁸ In 1900 the boys built a house for Mr Wilkerson and their own rooms.²⁹ In 1901 the first three apprentices completed their training. In 1902 the enrolment increased to 12; of these, 7 completed the three-year course. During the year, the boys made a great deal of furniture for sale.³⁰ In 1903 Mr Wilkerson and his apprentices in the industrial school completed the new church at Hope Fountain which was opened on 17th December.³¹ In 1907 the enrolment increased to 14.³² By the time the industrial institute was closed down in 1910, 29 boys had been received and trained.³³ Meanwhile, in 1908 the LMS opened a Teacher Training School at Hope Fountain with 15 students.³⁴ The enrolment increased to 18 in 1909.³⁵ In 1910 both the Teacher Training School and the industrial institution at Hope Fountain were closed for lack of funds.

The missionaries also opened boarding schools. The Jesuits, for example, opened a boarding school at Empandeni in 1902. The editor of the *Zambesi Mission Record* justified the opening of a boarding school at Empandeni on the ground that it was very difficult to instil Christian virtues, moral, industrious and orderly habits into the pupils unless they were removed from their 'pagan' environment; this could only be effected by keeping them at school as boarders.³⁶ According to Fr A. Lebouf, while parents were prepared to allow their children to trudge to school every morning and return a few hours later, only in very rare instances would they allow them to stay at the mission as boarders; even those who obtained permission from their parents to stay at the mission, were removed every now and then on one pretext or another.³⁷ Nevertheless, the experiment of opening a boarding school at Empandeni was encouraging; by January, 1903 the school had 19 boarders.³⁸

Reference has already been made to girls' education at Matopo mission, Hope Fountain, Empandeni and its four outstations. We must now examine it in some detail. According to Miss Davidson of Matopo mission, parents were initially strongly opposed to the education of their daughters because they feared that once educated, they would refuse to marry old men to whom they had been betrothed.³⁹ In spite of the opposition of some parents, girls were charmed by Western education. At Mtshabezi, for example, the enrolment of girls increased from 1 in 1907 to 6 in 1908; 11 in 1909; 16 in 1910⁴⁰ to 41 in 1912.⁴¹ The missionaries were naturally delighted at this development. In 1913 the Revd H.J. Frey said that there was a gradual change taking place among the parents: 'The lack of confidence and fearfulness with which some parents at first regarded the school is slowly passing away and now some parents bring their daughters to school.'⁴² As a result of the positive attitude of some parents, the enrolment of girls at the mission increased from 46 in 1913 to 67 in

1918.⁴³ In his Annual Report for Mtshabezi for 1921 the Inspector of Schools said that a noticeable feature of the work of the girls' department was 'the excellent system of training in dress-making and sewing' which aimed at enabling every girl to become 'a capable needlewoman with the ability to cut out and make serviceable garments'. He added that the knitting class of 13 pupils was also doing excellent work.⁴⁴ Again, because of the positive attitude of some parents, the enrolment of girls at Mtshabezi increased from 67 in 1918 to 97 in 1923.⁴⁵

Following the closure of the Teacher Training School at Hope Fountain in 1910 the LMS started an experiment by opening a girls' boarding school at Hope Fountain in 1916. The Revd Neville Jones opened the school after a young girl, Fute Dlamini, from Filabusi, sixty miles away, arrived at the mission having run away from her parents because they had given her an old man to marry. She requested Revd and Mrs Jones for permission to stay at the mission. After some weeks had passed, her father came demanding that Fute return home with him but she refused. She stayed with Revd and Mrs Jones in the mission house and joined 30 other scholars in the day school run by the Headmistress, Miss Rachel Masinga, a Zulu woman from Natal who had done sterling work in the development of the school and had introduced needlework, dress-making, laundry work and gardening.⁴⁶ Miss Masinga had not been long at Hope Fountain when Fute arrived. About the same time, two girls also came. At this point, Revd Jones and Miss Masinga decided to open a girls' boarding school at Hope Fountain. At the end of the year, the school had 6 boarders.⁴⁷ At the beginning of 1917 the 12 boarders provided their own clothing and blankets. They were taught English and the usual subjects of elementary school curriculum, and all kinds of needlework, laundry-work, housework and gardening.⁴⁸ When Miss Masinga got married and left Hope Fountain in July, 1922⁴⁹ she was succeeded by Miss Jessie Shimmonite who introduced pottery at the school. According to the report for 1923 the basketry department could not cope with the orders from Bulawayo while orders were pouring in from England.⁵⁰ The success of the girls' boarding school at Hope Fountain was demonstrated by the fact that the enrolment increased from 17 at the end of 1917 to 33 in 1918; 37 in 1919⁵¹; 56 in 1921⁵² to 64 in 1923.⁵³ The LMS also opened a boys' boarding school at Inyati in 1921 with 21 pupils.⁵⁴

Reference has already been made to industrial training for girls at Matopo mission and Empandeni; industrial training for both boys and girls at Empandeni's four outstations and industrial training for boys at Hope Fountain. Missionaries provided industrial training at these schools and elsewhere in the country partly because they were required to do so as one of the conditions for earning a Government grant under the Education Ordinance of 1899⁵⁵ and the Education Ordinance of 1903.⁵⁶

The provision of industrial training at mission schools must be understood in the wider context of Government attitude towards African education at that time. Because of the dependency of the white settler capitalist economy on the availability of cheap and unskilled African labour for its development, the Company Administration 'did not want African education to concentrate on academic work but rather on vocational training. The objective of such vocational training was to train Africans in rural trades and simple skills which would enable them to improve rural life without, at the same time, making them resent manual labour or aspire to compete with Europeans for white collar professional, managerial jobs and other skilled services.'⁵⁷ Thus the Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry which was set up by the Government in 1910 to enquire into all aspects of African life in Rhodesia at that time, recommended, *inter alia*, the continuance of industrial training at mission schools because such training would produce 'a better workman and a more useful servant to the European'.⁵⁸ This was certainly the philosophy behind Fr Biehler's industrial training at Empandeni's four outstations. Fr Biehler emphasised that the great object of industrial training at these schools was to 'improve the homes and the home life of the natives' and not to make them highly-skilled carpenters and masons who would compete with white artisans.⁵⁹

Wilkerson's industrial training at Hope Fountain was similar to Fr Biehler's at Empandeni's four outstations. Wilkerson did not aim at turning out skilled craftsmen, but 'cheerful Christian handymen, able and willing to turn their hands to building, carpentry, leatherwork, or any skill guaranteed to help church and people'.⁶⁰ While the utility of industrial training was obvious in a rural environment, it did not guarantee skilled employment in the urban areas. For this reason, the students were dissatisfied with the scheme and demanded more time devoted to academic subjects than to industrial training.⁶¹

The dissatisfaction with industrial training and the demand for more time devoted to academic subjects by Wilkerson's students at Hope Fountain, demonstrated that it was literary education which appealed most strongly to the African pupils in Zimbabwe during this period. Indeed, the Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry of 1910-1911 acknowledged the popularity of literary education among Africans when it stated:

The expediency or otherwise of giving the native any literary education at all has greatly exercised the minds of many witnesses. The Committee are of the opinion... that those who would withhold it have not realised that the movement for literary education has long assumed practical form, and that do what we may, the native will get it.⁶²

As more and more Africans began to regard literary education as the escape route from rural poverty and manual labour, the demand for it increased. This was best illustrated at LMS schools. Writing on 4th July, 1903 the Revd Bowen Rees said that he had many instances at Inyati of young boys coming from a long distance to buy books to read, without anyone at home in their villages able to teach them. He added: 'One little fellow told me the other day, when buying his first book, that a friend of his who had been working in Bulawayo had learnt the whole alphabet, and from the goodness of his heart he had promised to teach him the same.'⁶³ Furthermore, the people had bought more than a thousand books at Inyati. 'Very seldom', he said, 'do we meet anyone so poor that he cannot pay for his New Testament. I have given credit to boys from a distance whom I had never met before, and they turned up after many days with the money for books.'⁶⁴

A similar situation obtained at Hope Fountain. 'The desire for instruction in reading and writing', the 1900/1901 report stated, 'is increasing. In fact, whenever an opportunity is given for learning, the young people take advantage of it. It is clearly shown in the attendance at school and the demand for books'.⁶⁵ In 1903 Rees reported that there was a great demand for books at Hope Fountain; about 300 Testaments and more than 100 Gospels had been sold in addition to hymn-books and lesson books.⁶⁶ 'The outstanding feature of the whole mission field', Mr Richard C. Williams reported in 1906, 'is the great desire that exists to learn. I was astonished. I had heard much of this hunger before leaving England, but I did not realise it all as I do now. Nothing like it exists in England in any class, and only in the exceptional individual'.⁶⁷ 'The scholars, speaking generally', the report for 1907 stated, 'are eager for instruction, and have already reached the level of their teachers'.⁶⁸

At Centenary, the Revd David Carnegie reported in 1903 that the people had bought more than 100 New Testaments, scores of hymn-books, slates and lesson books.⁶⁹ 'The hunger for education', the report for 1907 stated, 'is still unsatisfied. At one place the people gave their labour voluntarily for the re-building of a school...'.⁷⁰ The Revd W.A. Elliot said that the keen desire of the Ndebele for education astonished everyone who knew them in the old days. 'The hunger for learning', he said, 'showed itself in all classes. Old men and women, moved by the example of the young folk, might be seen going to school with the children, and like them carrying their books and slates'.⁷¹

At Dombodema, the teaching at first centred in singing and memorising hymns. But one day a deputation from the singing class waited on the teacher to ask when they might begin to learn to read. 'This', Elliot wrote, 'was the missionary's opportunity,

and joyfully he took it. The reading class was added to the curriculum'.⁷² Furthermore, Tjingababili and other Kalanga headmen said that they were ready to build schools if only the missionary would send them teachers. Teachers being unavailable, missionaries devised a plan to send six of the brightest pupils to Dombodema for three months' training at the end of which they returned to the towns which had sent them and taught. Meanwhile, six other lads were ready to take their place at Dombodema and they in turn went out as teachers, while the first six returned to Dombodema for a further spell of training. Elliot wrote: 'The plan worked well enough as a beginning, and into it the people entered with spirit; Tjingababili sending his own son and nephew among the first six.'⁷³ At Insiza the missionary found the people delighted at the prospect of a teacher coming to live among them.⁷⁴ The missionaries in Matabeleland took advantage of the hunger and thirst for academic education to improve the quality of the education they provided in their schools.

II

Christian Missions and Western Education in Mashonaland, 1898 - 1923

In Mashonaland as in Matabeleland, the missionaries offered both academic and industrial training as well as Scripture knowledge in their schools. The Wesleyans, for example, opened Nengubo Training Institution for this purpose in January, 1900 with 6 students.⁷⁵ We must examine the major developments at this institution in some detail.

In 1903 the curriculum consisted of academic subjects in the mornings and industrial work on the mission farm in the afternoons.⁷⁶ In 1905 the subjects taught included Reading, Writing, Dictation, Geography and Scripture Knowledge.⁷⁷ The enrolment increased from 17 in 1909⁷⁸ to 29 in 1910. The main objectives of the institution were to give the students Biblical and theological knowledge to fit them for the work of preachers and pastors and education in teaching to qualify them to become efficient schoolmasters.⁷⁹ In 1911 the industrial work consisted of ploughing and general farm work and brick-making.⁸⁰ Of the 74 students who attended Nengubo Training Institution from 1900 to 1911, fifty qualified as teachers or teacher-evangelists and went into the service of the church.⁸¹ The religious aspect of the students' training was kept constantly in view. Bible study in the Old and New Testaments, and especially in St John's Gospel, was taught to the students.⁸² Religious instruction was expanded to include courses not only in Bible study but also scriptural history; the Books of

Genesis, Ruth, Matthew and John were systematically and carefully studied by the students.⁸³ In 1913 an artisan missionary, Mr William Hodgson, joined the staff as industrial instructor⁸⁴ and taught the students carpentry and leatherwork.⁸⁵ Training in leatherwork consisted of making harness and saddlery and boot-repairing.⁸⁶

In 1914 the Wesleyans requested the Government to help pay the teachers' salaries at Nengubo. The Government agreed to pay half the salaries of Certificated English teachers and half the salary of the industrial instructor up to £120. The Government also awarded £1 per head for all pupils who attended the institution for 120 days per year.⁸⁷ The missionaries also appealed to a wealthy Methodist, Mr Josiah Waddilove for financial support.⁸⁸ In February, 1915 Mr Waddilove donated £1 500 towards the work at Nengubo.⁸⁹ In appreciation of this gift, the Institution was renamed the Waddilove Training Institution.⁹⁰ In 1915 the Institution was expanded by making it a boarding school.⁹¹ When Mr Hodgson resigned as industrial instructor in November, 1915⁹² he was succeeded by Mr R.J. Ablett from Aberdeen.⁹³ In his report on Waddilove for 1917 the Inspector of Schools, Mr J. Condy, was so pleased with the work in the Normal School that he had no hesitation in saying that it was the best school of its kind he had seen in the Colony. In the industrial department, all the carpentry work required at the institution and on the mission farm, was done by the students under Mr Ablett's supervision.⁹⁴ When Mr Ablett resigned in 1919 he was succeeded by Mr Chisnall who was appointed industrial instructor in January, 1920.⁹⁵ In 1919, of the 94 students enrolled at Waddilove, 74 were boarders and 20 were non-boarders.⁹⁶ In his report on Waddilove during the year, the Inspector of Schools, Mr R. McIntosh, was very impressed with the work which was being done at the institution. He added:

There is abundant evidence of goodwork being done in... scholastic teaching, in the Training of Teachers, in Carpentry, in General Manual Labour, in the dissemination of education in the outlying parts of the district, and in general, in all the ways in which the Natives coming within the sphere of interest of the Mission may be helped to attain a better way of living.⁹⁷

The Wesleyans also felt the need to train African girls by giving them literary education similar to that given to the boys. In addition, the girls were taught housework, sewing and cultivation of the land, the object being to fit them to be suitable wives for the men who were being trained at Waddilove.⁹⁸ The need to train African girls prompted the Women's Auxiliary in England to contribute £100 per annum towards the work of the girls' department at Waddilove. In January, 1916 Miss Lilian Burnet who had taught at Kilnerton for nine years, was appointed to take over the teaching in the girls' department.⁹⁹ In 1917 seventeen girls were enrolled at

the institution.¹⁰⁰ When Miss Burnet resigned in 1919 on medical grounds, she was succeeded by Mr T. H. Bentley. The Revd J.W. Stanlake emphasised the importance of training African girls when he said that 'the helplessness of many of the wives of the evangelists in the direction of assisting the native people to a higher standard in their home life, is a serious drawback to the progress of the work'.¹⁰¹ Consequently, a new instructor for the girls' department, Miss Smallwood, arrived at Waddilove in July, 1920.¹⁰² In 1921 the Inspector of Schools praised the work which Miss Smallwood was doing in the girls' department:

In Miss Smallwood the Mission is fortunate in having secured a lady whose heart is in her work. One has only to look at the girls and their boarding house to realise that training of no ordinary character is undertaken and effectively carried through. Sewing, laundry, cooking and general housework are systematically taught. The girls themselves look particularly clean and smart.¹⁰³

In 1922 the quality of scholastic work at Waddilove improved considerably. In the first-year teacher training course, 9 out of 14 students passed their examinations while 9 others who sat for their second-year teacher training examinations, all passed.¹⁰⁴ In 1923 in the teacher training department, Mr Bentley took the scholastic work and Miss Nicholas the professional subjects of the student - teachers. In the industrial department, a trained bricklayer, Mr Gray Tembo, was training 12 students in building in stone and bricks. The institution went in for cotton growing and two acres had been prepared for the crop. The Revd John White had already introduced spinning and hoped at a later date to add weaving and grow all the cotton required at the institution. He also bought a pedigree short-horn bull, the idea being 'not only to improve the Mission herd but also to demonstrate to the students the advantages of improved breeds of cattle'.¹⁰⁵ Waddilove was thus a comprehensive institution offering academic, industrial and religious training.

At Chishawasha, the parents were initially reluctant to send their children to school. It was only after much persuasion from the missionaries that they allowed their children to go to school at all.¹⁰⁶ In 1899, 88 boys were enrolled at the mission.¹⁰⁷ The Dominican Sisters who had arrived at the mission in December, 1898 began work among the girls. The missionaries also opened a boarding school at Chishawasha. This was no easy task as some parents were opposed to their children staying at the mission as boarders.¹⁰⁸ However, by October, 1901 over 80 boys were boarded at the mission.¹⁰⁹

The pupils at Chishawasha were subjected to a rigorous and exacting regime. One Jesuit missionary said that 'the native being by nature indolent and easy-going, one of the most important points of his education is to accustom him to habits of industry, and make him sensible of the folly and the danger of idling away his time'. On this reasoning, the daily routine at Chishawasha was as follows. The pupils got up at 6.30 a.m. and attended Mass at 7; at 8 they went to the classrooms to learn the Catechism or Bible History; at 8.30 they ate their breakfast followed by a brisk game of football on the grassy playground in front of the church. At 9.15 they would again be marshalled into the classrooms. At 10.15 they had an outdoor music lesson which ended at 10.45 after which the bigger boys did outdoor work while the smaller ones had 30 minutes of light work such as shelling groundnuts; during this time they would sing hymns or learn their prayers. At 1 p.m., they ate their lunch outside after which they had 30 minutes of music practice followed by recreation until 2.30 p.m. After recreation they had a writing lesson until 3 p.m. In winter, outdoor work began immediately after recreation until 5 p.m; at 5.30 after a short but vigorous game of football, they would all go to the classrooms for evening school during which they had 30 minutes of catechism and a short singing lesson. At 7 they ate their supper followed by recreation until 8.15 when they would say their prayers and go to bed. On Thursday afternoons and on Sunday after Mass, all pupils were free to go home and return at sunset.¹¹⁰

In 1908, 89 girls daily attended the Convent School while 130 boys were boarded and taught in Fr Biehler's school.¹¹¹ In 1913 the girls' enrolment increased to 130 of whom 30 were boarders.¹¹²

When the Government School Inspectress visited Chishawasha Convent School in 1915 there were over 150 girls of whom about 50 were boarders. She said the work was divided into two parts; the school proper and the domestic training. In the domestic work, 18 girls divided their time between house - cleaning, cooking, washing and ironing clothes, needlework, making and cutting out clothes and sewing. Gardening including tree-pruning, was part and parcel of domestic training. The girls also received religious instruction daily. The Sisters superintended the girls at work; each set of four girls spent a week at cooking, ironing and house - cleaning. Altogether, the girls spent two and half hours daily in domestic training. The school proper consisted of five divisions ranging from Division I (the lowest) to Division V (the highest). In the upper division, reading was taught in both Shona and English; in the lowest division, it was only taught in Shona. She said the reading itself was distinctly good. When reading English, the girls were taught to translate what they had done into Shona to ensure that they understood what they had read. In the upper

divisions, they were given regular lessons in composition, sentences being made up from words given, using both Shona and English. In the lower divisions, the Sisters had made their own reading sheets to suit the stages which each division had reached. She said writing was very carefully taught; a good style was insisted upon and the work, mainly on slates, was clean, careful and good. The teaching of Arithmetic was done with concrete examples; each girl had her own seeds or mealies which she used to make calculations. In the higher divisions, the girls worked sums from the blackboard. She said as a rule, the sums were carefully done; subtraction was the weakest part of the work. Singing was good in all divisions; the bigger girls sang from the tonic solfa notation. Each set of girls had its own special drill, wand, dumb-bell or free drill. The exercises were well chosen, the movements were promptly and well executed. Marching, counter-marching and discipline were excellent. The work went on quietly in all divisions. The girls attended school regularly, some coming from quite a distance. In her concluding remarks, the Inspectress said: 'One cannot speak too highly of the painstaking and thorough work done by the Sisters in the School.'¹¹³

The Inspector of Schools, Mr R. McIntosh, also praised the work of the Sisters when he visited the Convent School on 10th August, 1917. He said the scholastic work consisted of Religious instruction, Shona, English, Arithmetic, Writing, singing and drill while the industrial work consisted of all forms of domestic work, sewing, cooking and baking, washing and ironing clothes and gardening. The medium of instruction was both in Shona and English. The Sisters taught classes in five spotless, pleasant and modern classrooms one of which was used for domestic work. The teaching methods used were generally good. The work was, as a result, excellent; the English, Arithmetic, Writing and singing were among the best. The industrial work in which 100 girls took part, was the natural complement of the scholastic. A high standard of laundry-work was evident in the care of the church linen. In his concluding remarks, Mr McIntosh stated: 'Such work, so skilfully planned, so many-sided in character, so completely educative, so diligently carried on, with such variety of occupation for the girls... is the work of the highest kind. The manner in which it is carried out reflects very high credit on the Convent and the church which directs its operations.'¹¹⁴

Turning to the work of the mission as a whole, Mr McIntosh said that well-printed text-books, those in vernacular being the work of the mission, were abundant including Fr Biehler's sketch of Bible History, Fr Hesse's selections from the New Testament, Fr Biehler's excellent Shona-English conversation book, and two song books with Shona, English and Latin (choral) hymns. Slates were bought, well ruled;

each pupil had a slate-pencil in a metal frame stamped with his class and number, so carefully were all the details of school work attended to. The result taken as a whole, he said, was good. Reading in Shona was not only fluent but intelligent; English was on the whole well read and well understood largely due to the abundant oral work which began, in simple form, when the pupil entered school. Writing and Arithmetic were good throughout and in some classes, excellent. Music still flourished at Chishawasha in church, in school and on the playing field. The school band was still a power and was directed by pupils of former pupils of Fr Biehler, so that many years after his departure, the Biehlerian tradition survived as a living force. The drill was excellent. The industrial work which consisted of carpentry, blacksmithing, stone-cutting, brick-making, building, road-making, shoe-making, quarrying, lime-burning, milling and twine-making, was as ample and thorough as the other parts of the system. In his concluding remarks, Mr McIntosh said that Chishawasha maintained its position as one of the great missions of Rhodesia, whether judged by the wide extent and variety of its operations or by the skill with which they were conducted.¹¹⁵

At Kutama, the Jesuits offered both academic and industrial education. In 1920, for example, Kutama offered elementary literary education for two hours daily for 180 days to 130 pupils at the mission. It was, however, industrial training which featured prominently in the curriculum. The apostle of industrial training at Kutama was Fr J. Loubière. 'One of my chief aims, ever since I took over this Station', he explained in 1920, 'has been to instil into the Natives under my charge, love of work in general, and in particular the love of useful manual trades'. He said the object of these trades was to enable the African to improve himself, his home and his village. With this aim in view, he began with carpentry, building and bridge construction. In 1920 there were 26 students under training in carpentry and 25 under training in building. Their ages varied from 12 to 30 years. He divided students in the carpentry shop into two categories: (a) half a dozen students who worked at the trade the whole year round and were intended to become, and to act later on, as instructors to their fellow Africans; (b) a score of others who worked for periods varying from 3 to 4 or 5 months depending on whether they were married or not. The married students did industrial training for a shorter period than their unmarried fellow workers.

The carpentry work included the cutting of suitable timber, sawing it into planks, the preparation of the raw material and the manufacturing, on a modest scale, of some articles of furniture for the mission. He did not give purely theoretical instruction; the training was based on practical work including methods of measurement, the use of the square, the level and the straight line. Loubière also introduced agriculture at Kutama. The major cereals grown included maize, rapoko, rice, groundnuts, peas,

pumpkins, beans and sweet potatoes.¹¹⁶ The products of the carpentry shop at Kutama were the centre of attraction at the Salisbury Agricultural Show which was opened by the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, General Smuts, on 8th August, 1922. A local newspaper reporter said that the finest exhibit consisting of a perfect dressing - table and wash-stand, cleverly decorated and exceedingly well-joined, with a fine polished finish, was that of Kutama mission.¹¹⁷

At Gokomere, the children initially did not take to schooling¹¹⁸ but as the advantages of Western education became evident, the enrolment increased from 102 in 1910 to 127 in 1914 to 148 in 1916. The scholastic work consisted of Religious instruction, Shona, English, singing, drill, Arithmetic, physical training and sewing for girls. Industrial work included tree-planting, agriculture, care of livestock and vegetable gardening.¹¹⁹

The Trappists opened a boarding school at Monte Cassino in 1908. It was at first difficult to get scholars as the villages on the farm were very few and very small but after a while a number of boys came from distant villages and in a short time there were more than 30 boarders at the school. In 1911 some big girls, moved by the desire to be instructed in the Catholic faith, came to learn and stayed as boarders. In 1914 a total of 55 boarders of whom 40 were boys and 15 were girls, were enrolled at the mission. As at Chishawasha, the students were subjected to a rigorous and exacting regime. A glimpse into the daily routine at Monte Cassino was provided by Fr J. O'Neil in 1914. The students rose at 5 o'clock every morning and attended Mass at 6. They were then given religious instruction in the church for 30 minutes followed by breakfast. From 7 to 8 they did manual work, some milking the cows, some feeding the pigs and horses and cleaning the sties and stables, others drawing water at the well and others employed in various domestic duties. All the farm work was done by the boys under the supervision of two Brothers and the girls, directed by the Sisters, did all the gardening, washing and mending of clothes, sweeping the floors and helping in the kitchen.

According to O'Neil, at Monte Cassino, there was no cant about 'the dignity of labour' as all the students were taught by precept and example that man was born to labour as the bird to fly and all students worked with a will. From 8 to 12 the students did academic work, the girls in one classroom and the boys in two others, with 30 minutes' interval for recreation. The afternoon was devoted to work either on the mission farm or in the garden. When their tasks were done, the boys were free to enjoy themselves. Supper was followed by evening prayers, singing of hymns and a short instruction and soon afterwards, all retired to rest.¹²⁰ In 1920 a total of 154 boarders

were enrolled at the mission; by July, 1921 the number of pupils at the mission increased to 200.¹²¹ In his Inspection Report for Monte Cassino for 1921, the Director of Education, Mr L.M. Foggin, said that the scholastic work which consisted of Shona, English, Arithmetic and singing, was 'thoroughly sound and eminently adapted to the Native mind'. In the industrial department, the dairy class was very popular with the boys and was done under Mother Rudolphine's personal supervision. The laundry class which was launched during the year, was a success. The girls took sewing seriously. The more advanced girls could cut out material and make dresses not only for themselves but also for European women. He said the mission was highly efficient in all its activities.¹²²

Meanwhile, there was an urgent need to train African teachers. At the first conference of Catholic missionaries held in Bulawayo from 22nd to 26th June, 1920 Fr W. Withnell, the Superior of Driefontein mission, presented a paper urging the necessity of establishing a training school for African teachers and catechists. In this paper, he argued that the Catholic Church could not extend its work in the mission field because of the lack of suitably-qualified African teachers. To start such a school, an experienced priest who would devote his whole time and attention to the training of African teachers or catechists, would be required. Brothers who would teach student-teachers farming, carpentry and blacksmithing, would also be needed. The products of such a school would teach not only academic subjects but also the art of building a decent hut, ploughing, winning from the fields a better return, the growing of vegetables, the planting and tending of fruit trees and even flowers. 'We must not', he cautioned, 'lose sight of the elementary truth that it would be folly to expect no failures, or to expect from those who have just emerged from savagery more than we look for from white boys and young men at school or college'.¹²³ After discussing the paper, all the Fathers agreed that the commencement of such a training school was a matter of the highest importance to the Church and its work and that the sooner they made a start, the better. 'There is no greater need in the Zambesi Mission', they stated, 'than that of a good supply of reliable, well-trained native catechists and school teachers, and the only way to prepare such properly is to have one or more Central Schools, in which they can be trained for a number of years'.¹²⁴ Accordingly, a two-year teacher training school for African teachers was opened at Driefontein on 7th March, 1921 with 13 students and with Fr Charles Bert in charge.

In the report on his visit to the school on 18th May, 1921 the Inspector of Schools, Mr S. de Lenfestey, said the first year teachers' course was taught from 6.30 a.m. to 11.30 with two short intervals and from 7 to 8.30 p.m. Industrial work which consisted of gardening, brick-making and domestic work, was taught from 11.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 2 to 5.30 p.m. He said the work of the teacher training class

was well organised by Fr Bert. The students signed on for two years and gave an undertaking to take up teaching on completion of the course. The syllabus provided for systematic instruction in the usual elementary subjects in the vernacular and in English. Special classes were given on hygiene, History, Geography, drawing, physical drill and singing with the tonic solfa notation, were included in the course. In the industrial department, each student was given a garden plot where he was taught to grow vegetables. The domestic work consisted of washing and ironing clothes, care of books, sweeping and scrubbing of floors. All students were taught how to make sun-dried bricks and to build simple dwellings with them. The timetable was carefully mapped out. He said the lessons given, with a happy combination of the two languages, were extremely good. The blackboard work was very clear and instructive; Fr Bert displayed much originality of thought.¹²⁵

In his report to the second conference of Catholic missionaries held in Bulawayo from 27th June to 1st July, 1922 Fr Withnell said the training school for African teachers at Driefontein had been operating for a year and a half but with a small number of candidates, and these, as was to be expected in beginnings like this, were of rather low scholastic achievements. The work had been an uphill one, financially and otherwise. He said that the school to be successful, must be loyally supported by the various mission stations which it was meant to benefit ultimately. Suitable candidates should be carefully selected, watched, and given, as far as possible, a preparatory course to enable them to enter their training with something approaching the standard of proficiency required by Government in such institutions. Aspirants must be made to understand that the training was meant to fit them for work as teachers and catechists. He added that the school was not a high school to prepare them for merely secular or clerical occupations, nor was it meant to benefit only the mission where it was established. Students on completing their course would be required to return to teach at the mission that sent them. All those attending the conference promised to do their best as the work was vital to further expansion and they were referred to Fr Bert, the Headmaster, for further information on any matters connected with the school.¹²⁶ However, on account of lack of financial resources, the school was closed in 1923.¹²⁷

In the Dutch Reformed Church schools, the religious orientation of the education provided, was evident in three areas. Firstly, religious instruction based on Biblical teaching, occupied a prominent place in the curriculum. Secondly, the Church's monthly magazine - *Munyai Washe* (God's Messenger) which was published at Morgenster - was for some time used as a class reader. Thirdly, schools were required to devote at least ten minutes daily to personal reading of the scriptures and prayer.¹²⁸

In addition to the basic skills like numeracy and literacy, there was emphasis on practical subjects like building, carpentry and agriculture for boys and domestic work for girls. Such subjects would not only help the students to appreciate 'the spiritual value of hard work, but would also equip them with relevant skills they would need when they went out to start schools and teach in villages as evangelist-teachers'.¹²⁹ The Church encouraged the use of locally-produced teaching materials. It also encouraged missionaries to write Karanga reading materials with the assistance of local pupils. In boarding schools which were initially mostly for boys, instruction in academic work was fixed at five hours per day in the morning and two hours daily every afternoon for industrial work in masonry and woodwork.¹³⁰ The choice of teaching materials, the use of the local language and the designing and shaping of the school environment were 'deliberately kept close to those aspects of village life acceptable to the missionaries. The curriculum was intended to shape the lives of the young girls and boys along lines most likely to establish a basis for a Black Christian community separate and apart not only from the White Christian community in the mission stations, but also from the rest of the surrounding non-Christian Black communities'.¹³¹ This was reminiscent of the Christian villages at Chishawasha and as at Chishawasha, such a programme was unrealistic in the long term. The demands of the cash economy and the attraction of the urban centres, proved a greater danger to such a Black Christian community than its non-Christian neighbours.

In addition to the vast system of primary schools which they set up during this period, the Dutch Reformed Church missionaries also started a training school for evangelist-teachers at Morgenster in 1911 with the Revd G.H. Murray as Principal. Admission requirements to the training school included a certificate of good conduct issued by a missionary and a pass in Standard III. The missionaries expected the training school to produce a cadre of manpower to provide leadership in educational and religious work. Among the subjects taught at the training school were Bible and Church History.¹³²

III

Christian Missions and Western Education in Manicaland, 1898 -1923

The Anglican mission at St Augustine's as other missions throughout the country, offered academic and industrial education. Regular work at Bishop Knight-Bruce Memorial College began on 30th January, 1899. Boys attended school in the mornings and did industrial work in the afternoons. The industrial work consisted of

book-binding, carpentry, gardening and brick-making. In 1900 the Principal started a scholarship programme for those students who could not afford to pay their school fees. He obtained scholarships from the S.P.G., the S.P.C.K. and from donations from friends and well-wishers of the College.¹³³

As at Chishawasha, the pupils at St Augustine's were subjected to a rigorous and exacting regime. The school bell rang at 6 a.m. The boys would come out of their huts and wash in the water furrow and were given their rations for the day. At 6.30 every one would meet in the Chapel for Mattins in Shona followed by a celebration of Holy Communion in English and 30 minutes for meditation till breakfast at 8.15 a.m. Academic work took the whole morning with an interval of 15 minutes at 11.30 till Sext was said in English at 12.30 followed on Wednesday and Friday by missionary intercessions. Lunch was served at 1 p.m. and then the pupils would play games until the bell rang again at 2 p.m. for afternoon work. Gangs would be quickly organised for various jobs. There was usually a building gang, a wood-cutting gang, and others for ploughing and digging and quarrying stone while others would go to the gardens or work at the irrigation furrow. At 6 p.m. the bell rang and there was a general washing and cleaning up for the Shona Evensong which commenced at 6.30. Tea was served at 7.15 and on the first four evenings of the week at 8, the catechists had an hour of special instruction. On Friday this hour was devoted to letter writing. Compline in English commenced at 9.15 while the pupils held a prayer meeting in one of their huts which they conducted themselves in turn. All lights were turned off at 10.30 p.m. On Sunday the day began at 7 a.m. with the great service of the week and a choral celebration of Holy Communion with a sermon for the Christians; the catechists were dismissed after the Creed. Mattins on Sunday began at 10.30 a.m. In the afternoon there was a Sunday School in the church for Hearers while the catechists and Christian pupils and others would go off on preaching expeditions to the villages. The day ended after Evensong and compline which began at 8.15 p.m.¹³⁴

Literary education at St Augustine's began with the ordinary primers; the boys were taught the reading and writing of their own language first. In 1901 the Inspector of Schools, Mr George Duthie, suggested that the pupils should be taught the English language first, purely orally without the instrumentality of books and that subsequent instruction should be given entirely in the English language. The industrial work consisted of agriculture and building; the boys worked steadily without supervision. Each boy was allotted a small plot of ground in which he took special pride. A system of irrigation had been started. In his concluding remarks, Mr Duthie said that if the industrial education aimed at producing boys who could intelligently farm and build without supervision, he had no doubt that such a mission as this, would be of great benefit to the country.¹³⁵

Every boy who was admitted into St Augustine's was required to pay an entrance fee of £3. In spite of this, the school became so popular that the Principal reported in 1906 that he was constantly refusing further applications. He said that the desire for education among the boys at the mission was remarkable. By this date, instruction was given three and half hours daily. The lesson in religious knowledge held the primary place. Elementary instruction was given in the Three Rs both in the vernacular and in English; an attempt was made to enable those who attended the school to understand and speak as much English as would benefit them in their work in towns while the few who showed more proficiency were given a slightly more advanced training. Half of the day was devoted to industrial work. Tree-planting had been carried on to a considerable extent; gardens had been laid out and a fair amount of land had been brought under cultivation. At St Monica the work was carried on on similar lines to those at St Augustine's. Religious teaching was given daily as well as simple instruction in the Three Rs in the vernacular, laundry, housework and sewing while part of the day was spent in manual work in the gardens and fields.¹³⁶

In 1907 the entrance fee at St Augustine's was raised from £3 to £5. In 1908 the Principal, the Revd E.H. Etheridge, decided to raise the entrance fee from £5 to £7 10s. He told the boys that if any of their friends wished to be examined for admission, they would have to pay this amount. Within ten days, over 90 boys requested to be examined for admission. He added: 'These facts do, I think, bear testimony to the extraordinary desire for education, and this desire is as great among the girls as among the boys, for at St Monica's also I have on my list the names of applicants sufficient to fill all vacancies up to Easter, 1910'.¹³⁷

In the report on his visit to St Augustine's on 12th and 20th August, 1910 the Inspector of Schools, Mr J.B. Brady, said the pupils read the vernacular fluently and were acquiring a fair working knowledge of English. At St Monica 90 girls were in residence. The industrial training consisted of laundry work, plain dress-making, domestic house work, gardening and farm work. Mr Brady added that both institutions were in an highly-satisfactory condition.¹³⁸

In 1911 the S.P.C.K. gave St Augustine's 30 scholarships totalling £210 at £7 each.¹³⁹ In 1915 there were 40 boarders and 120 daily attendances at St Monica.¹⁴⁰ In the report on his visit to St Monica on 29th and 30th June, 1915 the Inspector of Schools, Mr R. McIntosh, said that the scholastic work consisted of Religious instruction, Chimanyika, English, Arithmetic, writing and singing. The girls learned to read the New Testament in their own language and to speak a little English. Because of the low academic standards, the girls found it difficult to secure employment in the towns. The industrial work consisted of all forms of house work, sewing, cooking,

laundry work, gardening and simple building of fowl runs. The boarders did work for the school as payment; the day scholars brought firewood. The industrial work was paramount, the study of books was merely an adjunct. In dairy work, the girls made excellent butter and cheese and earned a Government grant. He said this was the first dairy grant given in the country and few were better earned.¹⁴¹

A typical day at St Monica in 1916 began with milking cows at 5.30 a.m. followed by Mattins, breakfast in the open air, morning duties such as sweeping and marching into school to do scriptures, reading, writing and speaking English on some days. The bell for Sext was the signal for closing school. This was followed by lunch and rest during which the girls would sit about doing bead work waiting for the afternoon work which ended at 5.30 p.m. except for the dairy girls. The day ended after Evensong.¹⁴²

In 1917 the school authorities at St Augustine's devised a plan to award bursaries to the most intelligent pupils to enable them to continue with their school work. Money came from the Home Association in England and from donations. During the year the Government gave £268 to the College. In 1918 the S.P.C.K. also gave grants to the College. During the year the enrolment of girls at St Monica increased to 123. By this time the girls had two Government grants, one for dairy work and the other for laundry work.¹⁴³ In 1919 the pupils at St Augustine's were taught up to Standard III. The industrial training of four hours per day included painting, building, brick-making, general farming and laundry work for girls at St Monica.¹⁴⁴ During the first term of 1921 the teacher training School at St Augustine's had 10 students. After lunch every day, they had lectures on tree-planting, agriculture, vegetable growing, hygiene, and were taught the breaking of oxen, making of harness, building, carpentry, road-making and animal husbandry.¹⁴⁵ At St Monica, the girls were taught up to Standard II and on the industrial side, they were given lessons in needlework, cooking, laundry and house work.¹⁴⁶ The first African teachers from St Augustine's were sent out in 1923. At St Monica, there was a bustle of activity. Some girls were busy spinning and weaving blankets and towels with the wool from the mission sheep and the cotton they had grown themselves. Some girls were busy in the laundry, some at the dairy work, the cattle of which they looked after themselves. Others were busy on the sewing machine, the only one they had, given to them by friends in England.¹⁴⁷

The Anglican mission at St David's Bonda, also offered academic and industrial training. In his report on the mission in 1913 the Inspector of Schools said the boys in the two senior divisions, learned English reading supplemented by lessons in oral English. Reading in the vernacular was taught in the remaining classes. Writing on

slates was commenced when the pupil had mastered the mechanics of reading. Arithmetic in the lower classes consisted of learning to count. In the upper classes, some of the boys could perform simple calculations. About 100 of the older boys and girls could read the New Testament in the Vernacular fairly fluently. The English reading was of a considerably poorer quality, yet showed a marked advance on the work of the previous year. The Headmaster, Mr Broderick, was responsible for the oral teaching of English by means of pictures and object lessons. He said the methods employed were sound and the results obtained amply justified the time devoted to this subject. The African teachers at the mission had all been trained at St Augustine's and had all attended the vacation courses held there the previous year. He said all were doing sound work. The industrial work consisted of tree-planting, vegetable gardening, brick-making and brick-laying. Some 200 wattle and blue gum trees and 50 fruit trees were growing well around the mission buildings and 500 seedlings were about to be planted.

The sewing classes for girls were a feature of the mission work. He said that Mrs Broderick had shown much enterprise in the organisation of this work and by her untiring efforts had arranged classes of instruction for every girl attending school. The scheme aimed at a thorough training in practical plain needlework, and a surprising amount of really satisfactory work had been accomplished. He said the mission had a tremendous impact on the neighbouring areas. At several outstations, the African teachers in charge, were planting rows of wattle and gum trees. In one instance, apple trees - cuttings from the Rhodes Farm orchards at Inyanga - were growing well. 'Enterprise of this nature', he said, 'is deserving of every encouragement'. He added that several former pupils who had been trained in vegetable growing while at the mission, had made small gardens in the vicinity of their villages and were finding a ready market for their produce at the police stations and cattle posts.¹⁴⁸

The Anglican mission at St Faith's near Rusape, also offered literary and industrial education. Throughout the school, the literary training which lasted for two and half hours in the morning, consisted of History, Geography and hygiene. In the afternoon, the Senior class got further instruction for one hour in English grammar, spelling, Arithmetic, History and Geography. The industrial training in the afternoon for Juniors only, comprised of spinning, weaving, dyeing, the planting and preparation of cotton and flax, carpentry, blacksmithing, tree-planting, vegetable and flower gardening, dairy work, cheese-making, animal husbandry and pottery. Although training in pottery was in an experimental stage, it produced good results. The candlesticks on each pillar in the church, were made by the pupils. In addition, on one

afternoon of the week, some 20 married women were trained in spinning and weaving. On the other afternoons, some eight or ten boarders from St Faith's vocational school, were also trained in spinning and weaving.¹⁴⁹

We saw in Chapter 3 that missionaries of the American Methodist Episcopal Church evangelised largely in Manicaland, Murehwa and Mutoko. We should now consider their educational contribution. As elsewhere in Zimbabwe, the people of Manicaland initially were not overly anxious to send their children to school. The children were also reluctant to attend school.¹⁵⁰ At Old Umtali, for the first year or two, the only way to get students was to hire them to work at the mission and then teach them for an hour each day in the classroom.¹⁵¹

But as the advantages of Western education began to be evident, the children began to flock to school. At Old Umtali, the missionaries used the older boys they were training as teachers and evangelists, to attract others to attend school. During vacations, they sent these boys on evangelistic tours within a radius of 50 miles from Old Umtali. The Revd John M. Springer recalled in 1909:

The results of this broadcast seed-sowing was that soon the chiefs began to send in requests for native teachers. This was a distinct gain. At first the chiefs had absolutely refused to even consider having schools at their villages. But the visits of our pupils while on evangelistic tours carrying some book or other always in their pockets, a primer, a hymn-book, or one of the Gospels, out of which they would read, to the great admiration of the small children, had resulted in a widespread desire for an education on the part of both boys and girls, and the youngsters were beginning to show a restlessness and discontent with kraal life. They were constantly running away to the mission to go to school. So it was no longer a question of school or no school, but of schools in the kraals or at the mission. Accordingly the chiefs were compelled to capitulate, and by 1906 requests for teachers to come and live in the kraals began to multiply.¹⁵²

One chief who was compelled to capitulate to the demands of the new order, was Mutasa, who, as we saw in Chapter 4, was strongly opposed to the introduction of Christianity among his people. When Mutasa saw that boys and girls continued to go to Old Umtali in spite of his opposition and his sub-chiefs were calling for teachers, he yielded at last. In 1907 he made an official call on Bishop Hartzell and asked for a white teacher to open a school at his capital.¹⁵³ Elsewhere in Manicaland, the chiefs welcomed the introduction of Western education among their people. In 1907, for

example, Chief Gandanzara asked the Revd John M. Springer to send him a teacher.¹⁵⁴ During the year, Chief Munyarari of the Muradzika Circuit, asked the Revd R. Wodehouse to send a teacher to his place. Wodehouse sent him a teacher and soon, 103 children were on the school register.¹⁵⁵ The same applied to Chief Mutambara. According to the Revd Henry I. James, the very first day the missionaries appeared, Chief Mutambara came personally to find out the object of their coming. When he understood, he was delighted that they were going to establish a school as they had done at Mount Makomwe in the neighbouring kingdom of Marange and promised to send his children to school. The very next morning, 40 of his children - for he had nine wives - arrived for school at Mutambara mission.¹⁵⁶

In spite of the popularity of Western education in Manicaland, the education of girls initially was a problem. Mrs Helen Rasmussen of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, for example, found that the girls in the neighbourhood of Old Umtali were far more indifferent to school than the boys and far more tenacious of the traditions of their ancestors.¹⁵⁷ She said that with the exception of one girl, no other girls came to Old Umtali for over three years.¹⁵⁸ Mr Timothy Chieza¹⁵⁹ aged about 100 years and lives just outside Old Mutare mission, said that the girls initially did not embrace Western education because the parents were strongly opposed to the education of girls fearing that once educated, they would refuse marriage to polygamists. This was due to ignorance (*dima*) on the part of the parents.¹⁶⁰

Gradually, a change took place. According to the Revd John M. Springer, brothers began urging their sisters to attend school. In 1904 Gumba, a granddaughter of the old Chief Mutasa, arrived for school at Old Umtali. In 1905 five girls arrived for school at the mission.¹⁶¹ Springer said the arrival of these girls caused a violent protest from their irate parents. In spite of this, once a break in the old regime had been made and the girls began to find that the mission was a place of refuge, they began to rebel against the unfit marriages which their parents had arranged for them and fled to the mission. He added:

We had to spend days trying to reason with angry and prejudiced parents each time a girl arrived. But the girls were firm in their determination ... to learn ... they stayed and their numbers increased ... A conciliatory spirit towards the parents soon won them over to at least a resigned attitude, and in a few cases, to positive approval.¹⁶²

With these introductory remarks, we should now turn to the education which the missionaries of the American Methodist Episcopal Church provided at their oldest mission, Old Umtali.

Old Umtali like other mission schools, offered both academic and industrial education. With evangelism as the basic objective, the school curriculum at Old Umtali during the first decade, was dominated by religious instruction.¹⁶³ In 1905, for example, in the advanced classes particularly, two out of three of the daily reading lessons were from the Bible, one in English and one in the vernacular.¹⁶⁴ In addition, the Revd John M. Springer drilled the boys in the Catechism daily, the memorising of the Psalms, held a class in St Mark's Gospel and gave the older boys special theological instruction.¹⁶⁵

In 1903 the academic subjects consisted of English Grammar, Arithmetic, Reading, Writing and spelling.¹⁶⁶ In 1907, English Composition, Geography and Hygiene, were added to the curriculum.¹⁶⁷

From the beginning, the missionaries emphasised industrial training at Old Umtali. By 1907 a blacksmith's workshop had been started; the students were taught brick-laying, plastering, blacksmithing and carpentry. Mr George A. Roberts, a graduate of Ames Agricultural College, Iowa, taught the students agriculture and animal husbandry while Mr C.S. Till taught building and wood-work. Besides the actual training in the field, Mr Roberts devoted nine hours a week with students in the classroom.¹⁶⁸ During the year, some of the boys did creditable work in brick-laying, carpentry, plastering, glazing and blacksmithing.¹⁶⁹ The food and cash crops which the boys raised at the mission as part of their agricultural training, included sweet potatoes, peanuts, castor beans, cassava, fibre aloe, okra and pumpkins. The fruits included Kei apples, Cape gooseberries, guavas, mulberries, lemons, oranges and Japanese plums. Mr E.L. Sechrist who was in charge of the Mechanical Department, emphasised that the objective of industrial training at Old Umtali was not to make the student a skilled workman but to advance him to the limit of his capacity. He added:

He should have work in Mechanics, he should have work in agriculture and in the care of a house and home... He should have such training in Agriculture as will enable him to cultivate to the best advantage with the help of his wife and children and perhaps some oxen, his own garden plot and farm. The exceptional man will advance farther and will receive by actual experience the training which will fit him for manager on some farm belonging to a white man and in the years to come on an estate of his own. In Mechanics the same holds good. Every boy should learn to do the work for his own house and the exceptional student will become a trained mechanic... While he is being Christianised, he is being civilised and he is being put in a position

where he is an actual producer instead of being always a labourer and relying on someone else for his daily being.¹⁷⁰

Previously, boys were given desultory instruction in Mechanics and Agriculture as part of the half day's work but in 1909 agriculture was added to the curriculum.¹⁷¹ During the year, agricultural teaching centred around corn culture. According to Mr Roberts, the work was a success, far above anything that was contemplated at the beginning. 'The interest which the boys manifested in the class work and their understanding of the subject at examination time', he said, 'was very encouraging'. At the Agricultural Fair held in Umtali, the mission won a silver medal for the most meritorious exhibit.¹⁷² In 1910 in the carpentry department, Mr Till taught 21 boys the making of yokes and skeys from poles cut from the mountain side. At the Umtali Agricultural Show, the mission won a silver prize.¹⁷³ In 1911 in the carpentry class taught by Mr Till, the boys made a set of church furniture consisting of a communion table, a lectern, a font stand and two chairs. They also made several cupboards, tables, drying racks and shelves for the printing office and the book depository. Mr Till also taught two classes of boys the use and care of tools for three hours two days per week. In the first-year work, in addition to the making of yokes and skeys, Mr Till taught the boys the making of axe handles. In the second-year work, he taught the boys the making of bedsteads from poles cut from the mountain side and tables and chairs from packing cases. The boys also learned the use of the rule and to work from drawings. During the year, the boys made 250 skeys, several dozen axes and yokes. Mr Till said the boys enjoyed this work and results were encouraging. Over and above this, the boys put together several school desks, teachers' desks and made cupboards and wardrobes. The farm equipment coming into the carpentry workshop for repairs, gave the boys 'excellent and useful training'.¹⁷⁴

In 1913 in the Agricultural Department, the first-year class work covered the study of cattle diseases and breeding, sheep diseases and improvements, pig feeding, diseases and improvement. The second-year work consisted of gardening and soil testing.¹⁷⁵ During the year, in academic work, Mrs G. A. Roberts taught English in the school. In addition to English Grammar, English Composition, Reading, Writing and Spelling, phonetic drill and conversational English were added to the curriculum.¹⁷⁶ The keenness of the students to learn was best summed up by the assistant teacher, Mrs R. B. Wallace. 'I rarely see one of the boys pass in school hours or out', she reported in 1915, 'that he has not his reader with him, either conning the spelling over as he walks or the corner of the book protrudes from a pocket, ready to be taken out at the earliest opportunity'.¹⁷⁷ During the year, the agriculture and animal husbandry class met four times per week. In the absence of Mr Roberts, Mr R.B.

Wallace taught the boys the diseases most common among indigenous stock, how to administer simple remedies, simple principles of anatomy to make the caring of sick animals more efficient, the care of the garden, the value of fertilisers, the source of plant food and how it could be utilised.¹⁷⁸

In 1917 Mr William Hodgson who was in charge of the Trades Department, divided the students into three classes. In the Woodwork class, the work of the first term consisted largely of making of yokes and skeys, window frames, stools and tables from indigenous timber. In the Brickwork class, he taught the boys how to lay foundations, make corners and partition walls. In the Leatherwork class, the boys repaired thirty pairs of boots in addition to harness and other leather goods. Mr Hodgson said the boys were quite keen to learn trades and in each of the three classes, the progress they had made was, on the whole, most satisfactory. 'The training of the hand, the eye, and the mind that these classes provide', he said, 'is calculated, not only to make them more useful to themselves, the church, and the community, but to make them better Christians and more thorough and fruitful in their work for God'.¹⁷⁹ In the Agricultural Department under Mr Roberts, the first year work consisted of vegetable gardening and soil testing. The second-year work which consisted of animal husbandry, dealt with the feeding of stock, the study of simple animal diseases, improvement of stock by breeding and selection. 'Our agricultural training', Mr Roberts said, 'is making an impression in this land. There are many of our people who are doing good work as farmers and truck gardeners'.¹⁸⁰

In 1919 in the Teacher Training School at Old Umtali, the year opened auspiciously. The Principal, the Revd Henry I. James, took the students into his confidence and informed them of some of the plans to raise the academic standards of the school. They enthusiastically agreed to this, some of them even voluntarily suggesting that they remain in the same standard for another year in order to get a better groundwork for the advanced grade of work. 'Such a viewpoint on the part of the students', he said, 'warrants us in the belief that their ideas of learning are being broadened and that no longer will they demand that having read a page or two in a Standard Three or Standard Four reader, they belong in that Standard regardless of their relation to other studies'. In the Theological Department, Miss Pearl Mullikin taught Bible courses for the Training School. The work in Bible study was conducted 'with an efficiency probably never before equalled within the history of the school'. Besides Bible study, the Rev. James held classes in Homiletics, Church History and studies in Christian Doctrine.¹⁸¹ In the building department, 22 students were enrolled. Mr Till taught seven boys how to put up the corners of buildings and several others how to build the walls between. 'All these boys', he said, 'should not only be able in time to build their own homes in the kraals, but also their churches and school buildings'.¹⁸²

Adjoining Old Umtali Central Boys' School, the American Methodists opened Fairfield Girls' School in 1902 with one pupil. The enrolment increased to 45 in 1905.¹⁸³ In 1907 the work at the school consisted of academic work from 7 a.m. to 10.30 a.m. From 10.30 to 12 noon, there were sewing classes. The girls made their own dresses and also did a considerable amount of sewing for other departments of the mission. In the afternoon, there were various kinds of domestic work including cooking, washing and ironing clothes and general house work.¹⁸⁴ In 1909 the academic subjects consisted of English Grammar, English Composition, Writing, Arithmetic and Geography. In addition, the girls spent an hour every morning in the study, translation and exposition of *Mavangeri* (vernacular New Testament). The industrial work consisted of gardening, sewing, house work, cooking and laundry.¹⁸⁵

In 1910 the work at the school was divided into two departments. Miss Sophia J. Coffin took charge of the academic work while Miss Emma D. Nourse took charge of the industrial work. In the academic work, Miss Coffin taught the girls Arithmetic and the reading and writing of English and the more advanced girls, History and Geography. The industrial work consisted of house work and sewing.¹⁸⁶ In sewing, Miss Nourse divided the girls into five classes. She collected samples of different stitches from the girls and sent them to the Agricultural Show in Umtali and the girls won a prize.¹⁸⁷ In addition, religious instruction based on the Gospels, was given for two hours every morning.¹⁸⁸

In 1911, 67 girls were enrolled at Fairfield Girls' School. The daily program began with the Catechism at 6.15 a.m. in the open space in front of the dormitory after which the girls went in groups to their various duties in the laundry, the dormitory and the garden. At 8.30 a.m. they prepared for school which began at 9 a.m. The first session was devoted to Bible study. Miss Nourse conducted a series of studies in the New Testament and Miss Sophia J. Coffin in the Old Testament. One of the African teachers taught the girls the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Psalms. At 12 noon, the first meal of the day was served; from 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. school was resumed after which the girls went again to their various duties. At 5 p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays, prayer meetings were held for the girls and women from the location. The girls spent the period from 7 p.m. to 8 p.m. preparing work for the next day.¹⁸⁹

In 1912 Miss Grace Clark arrived at Fairfield Girls' School. In 1913 the more advanced girls attended classes from 9 a.m. to 12 noon while the newer girls attended classes from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m. Miss Clark and Miss Nourse taught classes in the morning. In addition, Miss Clark taught two Bible classes while Miss Nourse taught Bible study to the rest of the classes.¹⁹⁰

In 1913 Miss Clark taught sewing for two or three hours four days per week. She said that the progress which the girls made, was encouraging. All except the very little girls, made their own clothes. Many girls could do their own cutting, fitting and made simple garments without any help. Most of them could use a hand machine, some very skilfully. Some girls learned to do embroidery, hemstitching and other fine sewing which, together with some of their own garments, were exhibited at the Agricultural Show in Umtali. In laundry, the quality of the work had steadily improved. Miss Clark was training 25 girls in this work; each one worked for three hours on alternate days. The girls did sewing for several families in the mission and became proficient at fine laundering. She said a few girls were really good at managing the laundry.¹⁹¹ In 1915 Miss Stella Hess arrived at Fairfield Girls' School. In 1916, 27 girls worked in the laundry, most of them averaging more than an hour and a half for 120 days per year. In 1917 the enrolment at the school increased to 90. Miss Clark taught sewing for an hour and a half for two hours four days per week. Most of the older girls could cut simple garments and only a few of the newer girls were unable to put them together. A few girls had developed originality in planning their dresses; this, according to Miss Clark, demonstrated that their powers of observation and their tastes, were being developed along the right lines. The school won a silver medal for needlework and beadwork at the Agricultural Show in Umtali.¹⁹²

In 1919 in addition to teaching sewing and laundry, Miss Clark gave Bible instruction every morning to the newer girls.¹⁹³ At the beginning of the year, a trained Zulu woman from Natal, joined the staff. She was not only a capable teacher but also filled a long-felt need as matron in the girls' dormitory.¹⁹⁴ In academic work, according to Miss Quinton, 24 girls were doing creditable work, 6 having nearly completed Standard III.¹⁹⁵

In 1921 Miss Clark said there was steady improvement both in the sewing and laundry work as well as in the way the girls were willing to take responsibility in looking after gardening and other work around the school. The advanced sewing class had completed sample books and had done much work in cutting. As in previous years, 20 girls took the laundry classes, 10 in each class, working the entire afternoon on alternate days. She added that whereas at the beginning, girls had to be coaxed to come to school, now they were glad to work for three months for the privilege of entering school. They worked during vacations and at odd times at the school in order to earn money for clothing in addition to working half a day while attending school during the other half. In place of the great opposition of parents and other relatives, now at least three quarters of the girls were either encouraged or cheerfully allowed to come to school.¹⁹⁶

IV

Government, Missions and African Education, 1899-1923

We noted earlier that the Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry of 1910-1911 recommended, *inter alia*, the continuance of industrial training at mission schools and acknowledged the demand for literary education among Africans when it stated: 'The expediency or otherwise of giving the native any literary education at all has greatly exercised the minds of many witnesses. The Committee are of the opinion... that those who would withhold it have not realised that the movement for literary education has long assumed practical form, and that do what we may, the native will get it'. It added:

Apart from the responsibilities of the dominant race in regard to this question, we should, therefore, accept the inevitable, and take every means of retaining... control of this class of education, so that it may be directed into paths which we can approve of...¹⁹⁷

This section examines the Government's attempts to wrest control and direction of African education from the missions between 1899 and 1923.

One method by which the Government attempted to wrest control and direction of African education from the missions during this period, was through grants to the missions. We must examine government grants to missions in some detail.

The Education Ordinance of 1899 stated:

Where a Native Mission School is kept for not less than four hours daily, of which not less than two hours shall be devoted to *industrial training*, by a teacher or teachers approved of by the Administration, and the average daily attendance is not less than 50, there shall be allowed annually in respect of each pupil, who shall during the preceding year have attended the school on at least two hundred occasions, the sum of ten shillings, provided that in no case shall such annual allowance exceed fifty pounds.¹⁹⁸

Because of the stringent requirements for earning government grants, by 1902 only 4 mission schools received government grants: St Columba's Anglican School in Bulawayo, the Jesuit mission at Chishawasha, the American Board mission at Mt. Selinda and St Augustine's Anglican mission, Penhalonga.¹⁹⁹

The Education Ordinance of 1903 repealed the Education Ordinance of 1899 and under Order 'D' provided for annual grants to mission schools on condition that: (1) at least 40 pupils attended school on 150 days of four hours daily during the year; (2) industrial work was systematically taught; (3) the pupils were taught to speak and understand the English language. The amount of grant which depended on the efficiency of the school, could not exceed £125 per annum.²⁰⁰

The new requirement that pupils be taught to speak and understand the English language, presented problems. According to Atkinson, although teachers were required to impart no more than the basics of oral communication, they were given very little help in formulating suitable teaching techniques.²⁰¹

In 1907 as a result of representations from certain missionary societies, a new Order 'D' was issued. The minimum attendance to qualify for a government grant was reduced from 40 to 20 pupils.²⁰² The Order divided schools into three classes—first, second and third. First-class schools were boarding schools under European supervision; second-class schools were day schools under European supervision; third-class schools were day schools under African teachers.²⁰³ The Order defined industrial work to include farming, brick-making, roadmaking, carpentry, iron work or domestic work.²⁰⁴ In first and second-class schools, the minimum number of school days was increased from 150 to 180.

In 1910 on further representations from missionaries, Order 'D' was again amended to give annual grants of 10 shillings and 5 shillings per head to second and third-class schools in lieu of £10 and £5 respectively for every 20 pupils qualifying, the minimum number of 20 pupils remaining unchanged. Three new sections of the Order provided for a further grant of £60 per annum for each European teacher qualified to teach industrial subjects; £60 per annum for each trained European teacher who undertook to train African teachers and 2 shillings and 6 pence per pupil per annum for pupils attending a recognised evening school.²⁰⁵ The Government expected the grants for industrial training by qualified European instructors to be used for the teaching of: (a) agriculture and animal husbandry, (b) carpentry and building, (c) spinning and weaving and (d) laundry work. During the year over 200 girls in first-class schools all of whom received a certain amount of training in domestic work, qualified for grants. The Acting Director of Education said that the Government instituted grants for industrial training 'solely for the purpose of giving advanced native pupils real training by instructors holding definite qualifications to teach their respective subjects'.²⁰⁶

In his Presidential Address at the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference held at Bulawayo from 16th to 21st July, 1913 the Anglican missionary, the Revd E.H.

Etheridge, referred to industrial training at mission schools and said that the resources available to the missions for industrial training were limited and that the missions could not use these resources for this purpose when the claims of evangelistic and other work were so pressing. He said that the missions could not be reasonably expected to utilise their income for industrial training when they were finding it almost impossible to take advantage of fresh openings for evangelistic work due to lack of funds. He added that if the State wanted the missions to carry out industrial training properly, it should be prepared to help the missions more generously.²⁰⁷ The conferees urged the Government to reduce the minimum number of pupils for whom a mission could claim a grant from 20 to 10. With reference to special industrial grants, they urged the Government to provide half the cost of equipment.

Accordingly, in 1914 as a result of representations made at the Missionary Conference of July, 1920 Order 'D' was again amended. The minimum attendance of pupils qualifying for a grant at second and third-class schools and evening schools was reduced from 20 to 10. The maximum grant which any one school could earn was increased from £125 to £200 per annum. The Government awarded grants for permanent equipment for special industrial or teacher training classes on the £ for £ principle up to a maximum of £30 in any one year. The £60 grant given to salaried European teachers was increased to half the salary actually paid up to a maximum of £120 per annum.²⁰⁸ During the year, the total enrolment in grant-earning schools was 22,458 as against 15,728 in 1913. The number of pupils in second-class schools who earned a special grant for industrial work was 429 as against 369 in 1913.²⁰⁹

In 1917 a new Order 'D' came into effect. The payment of grants was made on the basis of the average daily attendance instead of being based on the number of individual pupils who made a stated number of attendances.²¹⁰

In 1918 the average attendance for purposes of earning a grant, was reduced from 180 days to 120. The Director of Education said that the most pressing needs in African education were two-fold: (1) improved and enlarged facilities for instruction in industrial work of various kinds; (2) a larger supply of adequately - trained African teachers. As regards (1) he regretted that none of the missions had taken up the offer of substantially - increased grants towards the salaries of instructors in agriculture. As regards (2) the number of missions providing a training course for African teachers, recognised as adequate by the Department of Education, increased from 3 to 5.²¹¹ In order to encourage the teaching of agriculture, the Administrator authorised an increase of grants for fully - qualified agricultural instructors to three quarters of salary up to a maximum of £225 per annum.²¹²

In 1921 as a result of representations made by the Missionary Conference of 1920 regarding the financial difficulties under which the missions were working, Order 'D' was amended. The grant for first-class schools was increased from £1 to £1 10 shillings per pupil; the grant to European industrial teachers was increased to three-quarters of the net salary up to a maximum of £200 per annum for men and £100 for women. The grant for laundry work, dairying, spinning and weaving remained at £60 per annum. The maximum grant for non-salaried teachers was increased from £60 to £100 per annum. A new grant of half the net salary to non-European teachers up to a maximum of £100 per annum, was authorised. The grant to trained European teachers holding professional certificates of proficiency and undertaking the training of African teachers, was increased to three-quarters of the net salary up to a maximum of £240 for men and £120 for women; for teachers not holding such certificates, the grant was limited to £100 for both men and women. The grant for permanent equipment for industrial and teachers' training classes, was changed from the £ for £ principle to two-thirds of the cost up to a maximum of £50 per school per year; the evening school grant was increased from 2 shillings and 6 pence per pupil to 5 shillings per pupil per year. Under Section 7 an annual grant was to be paid for each African girl or woman who was taking domestic training in sewing, cooking, washing, ironing and general house work for a period of at least two hours per day provided that she had made satisfactory progress.²¹³ Finally, under Section 12 a capitation grant of £4 was to be paid for each pupil who had passed Grade VI of the code for African schools in Southern Rhodesia who was enrolled in teacher-training classes and had attended such classes on at least 120 days per year.²¹⁴ The Director of Education said that during the year, only Mt. Selinda mission was able to take advantage of the increased grants offered under Section 12 and was successful in gaining a capitation grant for 20 pupil-teachers in its training school.²¹⁵ In 1922 capital grants for African teachers in training amounted to £224 as against £80 in 1921.²¹⁶ In 1923 they amounted to £380 as against £224 in 1922.²¹⁷

As a result of the lowering of the requirements for earning government grants resulting from representations from the Southern Rhodesia missionary conferences and related factors, the number of mission schools qualifying for government grants increased from 4 in 1902 to: 30 in 1907²¹⁸; 80 in 1909;²¹⁹ 115 in 1910²²⁰; 193 in 1913²²¹ and to 287 in 1914.²²² The number of grants for specialist teachers of various branches of industrial work and those engaged in the training of African teachers increased from 14 in 1914 to: 16 in 1919²²³; 23 in 1921²²⁴; 27 in 1922²²⁵ and to 38 in 1923.²²⁶

Government grants to the missions were a mixed blessing. On the one hand, missionaries welcomed these grants because although they were insufficient, they

made possible a wider diffusion of education among Africans than the meagre resources of the missions alone could have accomplished. Secondly, the standards which Government imposed as well as its inspection of schools were 'a stimulus to greater efficiency which was very much needed in mission schools'.²²⁷ On the other hand, missionaries resented what they perceived as an attempt by the Government to control and influence the direction which African education should take. This became evident when Mr H.S. Keigwin, former Native Commissioner for Sinoia, was appointed Director of Native Development in 1920.

Keigwin's primary objective was to evolve an educational policy and development strategy capable of dealing effectively with the problems of African development in the rural areas.²²⁸ Following his appointment, Keigwin unveiled a scheme for African development in the rural areas in a report he wrote and presented to the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Council for consideration. We should examine this scheme in some detail.

While paying tribute to the missionaries for their contribution to African education, Keigwin nevertheless argued that with notable exceptions, their educational policy had been somewhat short-sighted and impractical and their zeal for the spiritual and the literary had been 'too little tempered with regard for the material and industrial'. As a result, the avenue of advancement had often been 'very largely that of the mental rather than the material'. He argued that educationally, missionaries had tended 'to lift individual natives off their feet, and to destroy their social balance' while industrially they had advanced the 'natives' to a certain point, and then, having nothing further to offer them, had to turn them out before they were really ready to face economic conditions with any hope of success. In other words, there had been lacking a practical continuation of what had been learnt. He said by contrast, the Government was working towards the improvement of the mass of the people. Individuals would continue to desire and to get advanced education and talented men would from time to time emerge. The Government's objective was to reduce the gap between these and the mass in order to minimise the dangers arising from over-education and to stimulate the mass of the people in the Reserves to 'a realisation of their own possibilities, and to systematised effort, thereby contributing to their own as well as the general welfare'. He said to achieve this, there was a need for industrial development beginning at the bottom, and in the simplest home industries among the people, teaching them to provide things for themselves, helping them to attain comforts, amenities and ambitions hitherto undreamed of by them. 'Then, and not till then, when the mind of the people has opened', he said, 'will the natives of their own free will go out and work without any compulsion to earn the wherewithal to purchase those things which they will have learned to value'.

He recommended the development of those industries which did not offer direct competition with Europeans. 'The aim', he said, 'has been rather to seek means whereby native arts may be encouraged, and the latent wealth of raw materials, which the country undoubtedly possesses, may be brought into use'. He again paid tribute to the missionaries for their pioneering work in African education. They had taught Africans Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. These undoubtedly had helped to develop the mind. But much more was needed; there was a need for 'character-developing' industries, for instruction in how to do a thing better than before, for inspiration and encouragement to make better use of their time, and to desire to assimilate 'the best lessons of civilisation'.²²⁹ He returned to this theme in article he wrote in 1923:

There being nowhere else for these people and their descendants to go, it is incumbent on us to see that they are taught without delay to make the best use of the land on which they live. It is not merely a case of counselling them; there must be an organised scheme of progressive instruction. The native nature is conservative, averse to innovations... We must try and devise some scheme of development, which, with all possible consideration for their time-honoured methods, can be evolved gradually, but unswervingly, for their ultimate good, and to enable them to make their due contribution to the general welfare of the country.²³⁰

The 'character-developing' village industries Keigwin had in mind included hides and skins, food production or agriculture, rope and mat making, basket and chair making, pottery and tiles, carpentry and smithing. Of these, the most important was food production or agriculture.

Keigwin said the prevailing methods of agriculture could not continue indefinitely. As the Reserves got filled up, the soil was being exhausted faster than was thought possible, while the extensive destruction of timber should be checked. He said there was a need for better methods of tillage, improvement in seed selection, more constant cultivation, proper rotation of crops and less wastage of corn in beer-drinking. An instructor would be needed to go round the Reserves to demonstrate the proper use of the plough. In co-operation with the Native Department, 'an immense improvement in native methods could be effected. Not only could existing native crops be improved, but certain others, such as monkey-nuts, flax and cotton might be developed under the scheme.'²³¹

He suggested the establishment of a school or schools with instructors to teach the industries he suggested for his scheme. He said the general control of these industries

would be combined under one Department to which all the instructors would belong. The Department would serve as a bureau for collecting all information dealing with the various branches of industry, the examination of raw materials and the experimentation of their use. While responsible for dictating the line of development, the actual disposal of any produce from these schools, would be delegated to a Native Trust.²³²

With regard to instruction, Keigwin said the first step was to select a piece of ground on which to establish a central school consisting of various schools dealing with the different industries. This central school or industrial farm should be near some convenient centre, 'preferably in or near a reserve, where natives could come without let or hindrance to see for themselves what was being done. Each industry would be represented by its own school, under the farm manager. This would ensure both better provision for the staff and a wider life for the pupils. It would tend to greater economy of management'.²³³

To enable Keigwin to implement his scheme, the Government opened two industrial schools, one at Domboshawa in the Chinamhora Reserve in 1920 and the other at Tjolotjo in the Gwaai Reserve in 1921.

Domboshawa School was opened in June, 1920 with 14 pupils including 6 from the Wankie District. By the end of the year 37 pupils drawn from various districts, were enrolled.²³⁴ The School offered both literary and industrial training. The daily program began with breakfast at 6 a.m. followed by roll-call and drill at 6.30 and prayers at 6.50. The junior pupils received literary instruction from 7 to 8.30 a.m. followed by industrial training from 8.30 to 12 noon while the senior pupils were engaged in industrial training from 7 a.m. to 12 noon. Lunch was served at 12 noon. The seniors received literary instruction from 1.30 to 3 p.m. while the juniors were engaged in industrial training from 1.30 to 5.30 p.m. Industrial training for seniors resumed at 3 and ended at 5.30 p.m. Supper was served at 6 p.m. followed by night school for all from 7 to 8.30 p.m. Lights were turned off at 9 p.m. On Saturdays, work ended at noon and in the afternoons, the pupils played football. On Sundays after the Service, the pupils were free to do as they pleased.

All pupils on joining the school were put through a course in *pise*-building in order to show them that this method of construction was both simple and inexpensive besides being a great improvement on the pole and daga method. While some pupils were being trained in stone-work, others were being trained in carpentry and vegetable gardening. In addition, 20 acres of *vlei* land were ploughed with a view

to planting wheat and barley after the rains. 'This', Keigwin said, 'is a most important experiment, both because, if successful, it will teach the Natives to work a large portion of their Reserves, which at present is scarcely touched, and because it may open up the way to highly enumerative and desirous crops'.²³⁵

On 7th March, 1921, 55 pupils were in residence at Domboshawa school.²³⁶ The pupils at both Domboshawa and Tjolotjo soon demanded academic education in order to increase their earning capacities. Keigwin came to sympathise with this aspiration and found himself having to offer the pupils the same academic subjects taught in first-class mission schools.²³⁷

At the Southern Rhodesian Missionary Conference held in Bulawayo from the 5th to the 8th of July, 1922 Keigwin's scheme was the subject of a heated debate. Speaking on behalf of the Conference's Executive Committee, the Anglican missionary, Archdeacon E.H. Etheridge, pointed out that when Keigwin proposed his scheme at the Missionary Conference of 1920, he had assured the conference that the schools he proposed to establish for 'native' industrial development, would be very different from mission schools; they were to provide something which the mission schools could not provide; they were to be 'native' industrial training centres rather than schools in the ordinary sense. He had also suggested the formation of a 'Native Trust' for the purpose of disposing of the products of these 'native' industries to the best advantage of the 'native' producer. On that assurance, the conference had welcomed the scheme.

Etheridge said he did not wish in any way to underestimate the value of the work being done at Domboshawa and Tjolotjo schools. A great deal had been done and Keigwin and his staff deserved the highest praise for the work they had accomplished. But he lamented the fact that the work at these two schools was becoming increasingly duplicative of the work being done at mission schools. He said that while building, carpentry and agriculture were being excellently taught at the two Government schools, the missionaries had taught these industrial subjects at their schools for many years. He argued that nothing was being taught at Domboshawa school which was not being, or could not be, taught equally well in mission schools. Furthermore, literary education was assuming an importance which it did not have at first in the curriculum of these two schools. The same prominence was being given to literary education in the curriculum of these two schools as was given in first-class mission schools.

On the financial side, he said that while the two Government schools were allotted £7,500 per annum, 856 mission schools were allotted £16,000 per annum. He suggested that instead of spending £7,500 per annum on the two schools, the Government should give £7,000 per annum to mission schools to be used solely for industrial training. Alternatively, the Government should grant £1,000 per annum to each of the seven most important and well-established missionary societies for industrial training in their schools. The Government could then judge for itself whether the results were satisfactory or not. If the results were satisfactory, it should continue the grant; if the results were not satisfactory, it should withdraw the grant. He claimed that the scheme he was suggesting would produce much better results with equal efficiency than the existing system.

Moreover, the existing Government scheme was running the danger of introducing unnecessary competition between Government and mission schools. He said it was unfair, for example, for the Government to impose restrictions on the qualifications of instructors employed in mission schools where salaries were partly paid from public funds when the Government was not placing similar restrictions on qualifications of instructors at its schools where salaries were paid entirely from public funds. He claimed that there were instructors in the two Government schools who probably would not be recognised by the Education Department as sufficiently qualified to receive grants from public funds if employed by mission schools. Etheridge was also opposed to Keigwin's scheme on the ground that religious instruction was not emphasised at the two Government schools. He claimed that a large proportion of pupils at the two Government schools were 'heathen', or at any rate were not definitely attached to any Christian church and had no opportunity to get religious instruction when, as often happened, they wished to get it. He believed it would be the greatest mistake imaginable to give education to the 'native' without at the same time giving him religious instruction. He said he would prefer the 'native' to remain uneducated than to be educated without Christianity. The missionaries would still welcome the establishment of the two Government schools provided they operated on the lines originally outlined, that is, schools for providing something altogether beyond the mission schools to which former pupils of mission schools could be sent - finishing schools, or something of that kind. Speaking for the Anglican Church of which he was a representative, Etheridge said he was prepared to admit that Anglican mission schools were not as efficient as they ought to be but the blame for this state of affairs should not rest on the shoulders of these schools. Much of the blame should rest on the shoulders of the Government. If these schools were inefficient, it was largely because the Government had not given them the means to make them efficient.²³⁸

Keigwin's scheme was defended by the Revd Reyneke of the Dutch Reformed Church who said that undoubtedly good work was being done at the two schools. He did not think that Mr Keigwin had lost sight of his original aim. He said the Government was experimenting and the experience gained from the two schools would prove of real benefit to mission schools. He said at Domboshawa school, work was done systematically; it was, in fact, a model mission station and was run economically. He said that money was being well spent. He conceded that the religious question posed a problem and urged his fellow missionaries to put their heads together to solve this problem. The Revd M. Vlok of the Dutch Reformed Church also defended Keigwin's scheme and said that when Keigwin introduced his scheme at the conference of 1920, he was somewhat sceptical of the scheme whereas now after a visit to Domboshawa school, any suspicion he might have had, had been disarmed. He urged that the experiment should be given a chance.

The Wesleyan missionary, the Revd Holman Brown, said that if Domboshawa school was a model mission station, the Government should subject it to the same conditions as mission schools. The President of the Conference, the Revd Neville Jones of the London Missionary Society, said he had seen Domboshawa school - in fact, he had stayed there - and he could not see the difference between this school and a well-conducted mission school. He thought, however, that the work at Domboshawa school was a contribution to their efforts. For this reason, he could not support any motion which tended to stultify the scheme in its experimental stage. The Principal of Tjolutjo school, the Revd T.T. Alexander, pleaded that the new schools should be given a fair chance and pointed out that his own school, for instance, had only been running for a year. He added that he knew from experience that at many mission stations there was no more religious teaching given than was given at the Government schools. He was of the opinion that a Government institution should not be used for advancing any denominational interest, though at the same time the spiritual and moral interests of the boys should be safe-guarded.²³⁹

Mr Keigwin who had been invited to attend the conference, defended his scheme and said that one of the differences between his scheme and mission schemes was that although a large measure of literary instruction was given at Government schools, the pupils started first and foremost with work. The two schools were essentially schools of work. The teachers were endeavouring to give the pupil something that would be of immediate value to him in his own life. He said he had been to practically all mission schools and many missionaries admitted that the industrial work taught in their schools was not detailed enough to prepare the pupil for the work he would do in his own life. He said that the Government never intended that the new schools

should usurp the functions of the mission schools; it simply wanted to suggest the direction which industrial training should take and he hoped to help the missions in their efforts to the same end. He said the Government was not against the missionaries in the matter of religious instruction but with them; its aim was to help the 'native' under his own conditions in the Reserves. He did not believe that the missionaries had done enough to train the 'native' how to get the most out of the Reserves and missionaries had admitted that much to him. He said the Government had a definite duty to teach the 'native' to do more with the land set apart for him. With regard to the financial aspect, he said each of the two schools cost £2,500 per annum leaving £2,500 for head-office expenses, staff and travelling, which in these early days of the scheme, were bound to be heavy, especially as it entailed a great deal of travelling. He emphasised that the cost of the two schools was much lower than the cost of certain similar schools in the Union of South Africa. In the Transkei, for example, the Government was spending between £7,500 and £8,000 on buildings alone for a second agricultural college for 50 boys whereas the Rhodesian Government was spending less than £2,500 per annum on each school of 100 pupils for staff, building equipment, food and clothing.

On the question of instructors' qualifications, Keigwin assured the conference that the first manager of the Domboshawa school was selected largely because of his long standing in the country and was an expert farmer in the practical sense. The Director of Education had visited one of the schools and was satisfied with the work being done there. Turning to the subject of religious instruction, he said the boys at the two schools had a strong religious basis for everything they did. The teachers were teaching the boys the life of Christ and the beginnings of Christianity. It was not the business of the teachers to convert the boys to a particular religious denomination; that was the business of the missionaries but at the two Government schools the teachers did try to keep Christ before the pupils. He said he had urged the teachers at the two schools to draw their pupils from mission schools but they could not refuse to admit an unfortunate boy who did not happen to have been to a mission school. The teachers gave such a boy the glimmerings of Christianity; they perhaps sowed the seed which the missionaries could bring to a full-grown flower.²⁴⁰

In spite of their opposition to Keigwin's scheme, the missionaries in the end, decided to co-operate with the Government in order to make their own educational work among Africans more fruitful.

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Chapter 6

Medical Missions, 1893-1923.¹

Christian missionaries started medical missions in Zimbabwe as elsewhere in the world, firstly because the ministry of healing was an integral part of the ministry of Jesus. One example will suffice: 'And Jesus went about in Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the Kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness among the people'.² Secondly, they viewed medical missions as an invaluable evangelistic agency.

The Wesleyan medical missionary, Dr L.G. Parsons, said that medical missions constituted 'an excellent object lesson in Christianity'. 'If by skillful treatment a sick native is relieved of pain or cured of his disease', he wrote, 'he must wonder why it has been done, and is far more prepared to receive and respond to the Gospel message than if this is presented to him with his pain unrelieved'.³ The Wesleyan missionary, the Revd H. Oswald Brigg of the Tcgwani Circuit, recognised the importance of medical missions when he wrote in 1909:

This work is not only necessary for the sake of those who have no one but the missionary to help them, but it is necessary for this reason also - that until we can change the native's idea of medicine, we can never make him a real Christian. Half his heathenism is summed up in that one word 'medicine'. So every case we cure and every pain stayed without magic, means not only relief to the sufferer, but the most powerful sermon against witchcraft and superstition.⁴

Miss Frances Davidson of Matopo mission, echoed these sentiments, 'With the natives', she wrote in 1915, 'sickness is always the result of witchcraft or the influence of their ancestral spirits. If one can by means of remedies, under the blessing of God, show them that this is not true, he is doing much to overthrow some of their superstitions'. She said that by ministering to the physical sufferings of the people, the missionary paved the way for ministering to their spiritual needs. 'He who neglects this part of the work', she added, 'makes a grave mistake'.⁵

Dr W. L. Thompson of the American Congregational Church at Mt. Selinda mission, argued that it was not enough to tell Africans of Christ's undying love: 'The story will seem but an "idle tale" to them unless they see that love exhibited in living form

before their eyes'. The most effective way to demonstrate Christ's undying love for them was to relieve them of their physical sufferings. He said that medical missions were also an invaluable agency in overcoming superstitions prevalent among Africans by demonstrating before their eyes 'the agent of disease, showing how it may be introduced into animals with the same deleterious effects that it produces in human beings; that its growth and development are as definite and regular as ... the corn in their fields, the ticks on their cattle, or the intestinal worms with which they are all familiar'. He said it was also very important for Africans to gain confidence in the missionary and his message and the healing of the sick was crucial in this respect. He added:

Not only does a right use of medical skill convince them of our kindly regard, but the triumphs of modern medical science often have the impression of miracles to them. And why may they not legitimately serve a similar purpose to these poor heathen that the miracles of Christ and his apostles did to those whom they taught and do to us? Christ doubtless delighted in the relief of physical suffering when consistent with spiritual good; but it seems equally certain that he had a much higher object in view in the performance of miracles - to draw the attention of men to the great truth he had to offer them and to convince them that he spoke with authority... Aside from this object it seems doubtful whether miracles would ever have been wrought for the relief of physical sufferings. Why should not the miracles of modern medical science help to accomplish these same great ends for the heathen world?⁶

According to the Revd E.L. Sells, the rapid progress of the American Methodist Episcopal Church would have been impossible without the medical skill of Dr Samuel Gurney. When he arrived at Old Umtali mission in 1903 Africans were still suspicious of the motives which brought the church to their land. Through his medical skill, Dr Gurney won their confidence and helped to lay the foundations of the church among the people:

While visiting in the villages Dr Gurney found a sick woman who had been dragged out into the bush to die or to be eaten by the wild animals. After much persuasion the husband brought her to the Mission. An operation was performed with but little equipment. She recovered and her daughter was the first girl to come to school. They learned of the kindness and skill of the white medicine man and the New Day of growth and expansion for the Church began.⁷

Among the southern Shona, according to Daneel, the medicine chest, stethoscope and scalpel accompanied the Gospel and were often invaluable in winning the confidence of people who were reluctant to permit the missionary to enter their area; on numerous occasions, the suspicions or antagonism of traditional authorities were overcome after successful medical treatment.⁸

This Chapter focuses on the medical missions which were started by various Christian denominations in Zimbabwe between 1893 and 1923.

Medical Missions, 1893 - 1923

Among Africans, the first permanent medical mission staffed by a medical doctor began when Dr W. L. Thompson, a medical missionary of the American Congregational Church, opened a dispensary at Mt. Selinda mission in 1893. He was followed by Dr William T. Lawrence who opened a small hospital at Chikore mission in 1900.⁹ Dr Thompson gradually expanded the dispensary at Mt. Selinda until it became a full-fledged hospital - the Willis F. Pierce Memorial Hospital - which he completed in 1912. At first there was a strong prejudice against the white doctors' medicine but gradually the influence of the two medical missionaries spread and Africans from far and wide came to consult them.¹⁰

In the Victoria Province, medical missions among Africans were pioneered by missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church who erected a hospital at Morgenster mission when the first medical missionary, Dr John T. Helm, arrived in 1894. In addition to his work at Morgenster Hospital, Dr Helm started a voluntary leper settlement on Morgenster mission farm in 1899. The Government took a keen interest in the leper settlement and in January, 1903 the Acting Medical Director, on behalf of the Medical Director, Dr Andrew Fleming, asked Dr Williams, District Surgeon, Victoria, to visit the leper settlement at Morgenster and furnish the Government with a general report on the settlement and on the condition of the inmates.¹¹ The lepers were unhappy and most of them absconded; by the end of 1906 only 2 lepers remained at the settlement.¹² The work, however, steadily grew; the number of inmates increased to 8 in 1910¹³, 14 in 1911¹⁴ and to 40 in 1912.¹⁵

The leper settlement at Morgenster must be understood in a wider context. In May, 1912 the Government proposed to start a scheme for the compulsory and effective segregation of lepers in some part of the country and set aside a sum of money in the

year's estimates to meet this expenditure.¹⁶ The Medical Director, Dr Andrew Fleming, suggested the appointment of a small committee to plan a settlement for the country's lepers. Accordingly, a committee consisting of the Chief Native Commissioner for Matabeleland, the Chief Native Commissioner for Mashonaland and Dr Helm, was appointed. The committee agreed on the need for compulsory segregation of lepers in a special asylum set aside for this purpose and suggested the Victoria District as the most suitable area. In order to implement the scheme, the Government took over land in the Reserve adjoining Morgenster mission for this purpose for a period of 50 years.¹⁷ In August, 1912 Dr Fleming asked Dr Helm whether he would accept the post of medical officer for the proposed leper colony.¹⁸ Dr Helm accepted. In June, 1913 the Government authorised the removal of all lepers from Morgenster mission farm to the new leper colony on the neighbouring Reserve.¹⁹ In July, 1914 it approved the appointment of Dr Helm as Medical Superintendent of the leper settlement at a salary of £200 per annum and the appointment of the Revd I. Botha as European attendant at a salary of £180 per annum.²⁰ The settlement consisted of a hospital and a central administration office with quarters for the doctor and his staff.²¹ In 1915 Dr Helm resigned his post as Medical Superintendent of the leper settlement due to poor health.²² Because no other medical missionary was available, the Revd Botha was appointed to replace him as Superintendent of the leper settlement.²³

In spite of Dr Helm's resignation, the leper settlement continued to grow. The number of inmates increased from 40 in 1912 to 76 in 1916²⁴; 84 in 1918²⁵; 96 in 1920²⁶; 136 in 1922²⁷ and to 153 in 1923.²⁸ In 1923 the Government took over the leper settlement and in 1927 transferred it to Ngomahuru in the Ndanga District.

Missionaries of the American Methodist Episcopal Church started medical work among Africans in Zimbabwe when Dr Samuel Gurney arrived at Old Umtali in 1903. In 1909 Dr Gurney and his assistant, Job Tsiga, left for Murewa where Dr Gurney hoped to open a clinic and a school but on his arrival, African Christians told him that they preferred an English to an American missionary. Furthermore, the Native Commissioner was skeptical about Gurney's medical qualifications and forced him to leave Murewa. He settled at Kanyasa near Murewa and opened a school, a church and a clinic.²⁹

Dr Gurney won the confidence of the people of Murewa through a fortuitous circumstance. A young girl named Chemhunga, was gored by a bull near her home at Chomosweswe. When her mother and brother arrived, they found that her side was torn open and her intestines were hanging out of the large wound. They washed the wound, pushed the intestines in and sewed up the wound with a bark string and tied

a white cloth over it. Her brother carried her on his back for about three miles to the Government office. Dr Gurney and Job Tsigu were about ten miles away. A messenger, Jonah Munokorwe, ran to find them. It took them several hours to arrive. Dr Gurney placed Chemhunga on a table and after examining the wound, he gave her an anaesthetic. He pulled out the intestines as far as he could, washed them, pushed them back in, sewed up the wound and applied medicine on it to make it heal. After three months, the wound healed. Chemhunga was converted and became a Christian.³⁰

The above incident firmly established Dr Gurney's reputation as a miracle worker and people began to flock to him for medical treatment. 'From having no confidence in the white medicine man,' he reported in 1910, 'they have now gone to the other extreme and seem to think there is nothing he cannot do, and if he does not raise the dead, it must be because he does not want to do so'.³¹

On another occasion, Dr Gurney cured Chief Mutasa's second daughter who was suffering from sore eyes. This made a deep impression on the chief and his daughter became a Christian.³²

Dr Gurney also cured the favourite son of Chief Nyajina who, as we saw in Chapter 4, was the most stubborn opponent of Christianity in the Murewa District. After undergoing treatment for two to three weeks at Murewa mission, Nyajina's son was cured. When his son returned home, Nyajina went to the mission to apologise to the missionaries for the way he had treated them. The fact that his son who had nearly died, had returned from the mission completely cured, the Revd Henry James wrote, had completely broken Nyajina's prejudice and opposition. The proud old chief had come to the mission to make amends.³³

Dr Gurney continued with his ministry of healing. When the influenza epidemic of 1918 hit the Murewa District, the Native Commissioner asked Dr Gurney to assist in containing the disease. The Government turned the local church into a hospital and took all Africans who were suffering from the disease to the make-shift hospital where Dr Gurney, assisted by the Revd H. N. Howard and all their African teaching staff, treated them. The Native Commissioner paid tribute to Dr Gurney for his invaluable services during the influenza epidemic.³⁴

In addition to the work of Dr Gurney, the American Methodists started medical work at Mutambara mission when a nurse, Miss E. D. Nourse, arrived in 1909. In 1918 Mother Hughes of Kansas, USA, sent a donation of \$160 to enable the missionaries

to build a one-room maternity hospital at the mission.³⁵ When Miss Nourse left the mission, she was succeeded by Miss Ona M. Parmenter. In addition to the maternity hospital, the missionaries also built a dispensary at the mission. Miss Parmenter said that initially, patients were very reluctant to stay at the dispensary for prolonged treatment but gradually the number of patients increased. A week after the dispensary was completed, influenza broke out at the mission and in the surrounding villages; for three weeks every available space in the dispensary was full of patients. She said that in normal times, she treated on the average, from 15 to 20 patients every day and the two girls she was training to help her, showed a marked adaptability for the work.³⁶

In 1922 there was a constant stream of patients coming in and going out of the dispensary at Mutambara mission; those from a distance often stayed at the dispensary while those from nearby villages came daily for medical treatment. Miss Parmenter said that a fever which broke out at the mission during the year, required many long hours of working and watching day and night.³⁷

After Dr Gurney left for Murewa in 1909 there was no medical missionary at Old Umtali until 1916 when a Swedish nurse, Miss Ellen Bjorklund, arrived from Inhambane, Mozambique, on a health furlough and decided to stay. A dispensary was under construction when she arrived and when it was completed, she managed to find two beds on which to treat the patients.³⁸

In 1917 there were more out-patients and in-patients at the dispensary at Old Umtali than the previous year. Miss Bjorklund said that the ministry of healing had swept away many superstitions among the people; as a result, Christians and non-Christians were no longer afraid to come to the dispensary for treatment. During the year, she gave about 1500 treatments and received £6 worth of medicines from the Government. She said that in the maternity Department, a large number of mothers, Christian and non-Christian, came to the dispensary for nursing care; consequently, no life was lost although there had been some very serious cases where neither mother nor baby would have lived if they had been left to the mercy of traditional midwives. She also said that Mrs Jamera who had been associated with the mission in various capacities, received special instruction in maternity nursing and became quite proficient in this work; she was the only one receiving financial support from a friend in the United States.³⁹

In 1919 Miss Bjorklund began training two girls from Fairfield Girls' School as well as three wives of the pastor-teachers in nursing care at the dispensary at Old Umtali.

She conducted classes in hygiene and care of children for the women from the location and the wives of the teachers-in-training. She also held morning and evening prayers at the dispensary; the patients told her that she had helped them not only physically but also spiritually.⁴⁰

In 1921 the demand for treatment at the dispensary at Old Umtali was greater than in previous years. Miss Bjorklund gave about 12,000 treatments for burns, sore eyes, coughs, sores of all kinds, stomach trouble, blood poisoning, dysentery and syphilis. During the year, a new maternity building providing a comfortable room for the patients and one room for the nurses, was completed and Miss Bjorklund was training 7 girls in maternity nursing.⁴¹

In 1922 the dispensary at Old Umtali was less busy than the previous year. Patients calling at the dispensary for treatment for the first time numbered 286; those returning for further treatment after the first call, numbered 5968; the in-patients numbered 288, making a total of 6542 patients treated for various cases of sickness during the year. In the maternity department, Miss Bjorklund had 3 girls in regular training in maternity nursing.⁴²

In 1923 largely due to a heavy fever, the nurse gave 8664 treatments to out-patients at the dispensary at Old Umtali⁴³ while the bed patients, most of whom were suffering from fever, numbered 215.⁴⁴

The Wesleyans also started medical work in Zimbabwe during this period.⁴⁵ In February, 1913 the Government offered the Wesleyans £200 towards the cost of building a hospital at Kwenda mission. In April, 1913 the Revd H. Oswald Brigg received a government draft for £200 towards the cost of building the hospital. The Government promised to pay the doctor's salary as soon as he arrived at Kwenda mission.⁴⁶ It also agreed to defray the cost of drugs, surgical instruments and general equipment.⁴⁷ A medical missionary, Dr Sidney Osborn, was appointed to Kwenda mission in May, 1913.⁴⁸ The hospital which was completed during the year, provided accommodation for 18 in-patients.⁴⁹ By 15th December, 1913 a total of 128 patients had been treated at the hospital.⁵⁰

The first few years at Kwenda hospital were difficult. The Native Commissioner, Mr F. W. T. Posselt, said that Africans were reluctant to take advantage of the medical facilities available at Kwenda hospital. 'Although at times natives appear keen on European remedies', he reported in 1914, 'they make no real efforts to obtain them'.⁵¹

After three years, the situation at Kwenda hospital had not changed; Dr Osborn was getting only a few out-patients daily and very seldom an in-patient at all. In fact, the in-patients were so few that by April, 1916 Dr Osborn was using the largest ward as a day school for children.⁵² By June, 1916 the situation had still not changed; people were still reluctant to come for treatment.⁵³ Under the circumstances, the Government felt that it was pointless to continue to support Dr Osborn's services and withdrew its grant to the hospital.⁵⁴ Consequently, Dr and Mrs Osborn terminated their services at the hospital and left the country; they were forbidden to return on medical grounds.⁵⁵ After the departure of Dr Osborn, the missionaries who remained at Kwenda mission continued to give medical services as best they could; between April and September, 1917, over 500 out-patients were treated.⁵⁶ The hospital was formally closed in December, 1917.

In spite of the closure of Kwenda hospital, the ministry of healing continued to be important. In 1918 the Revd H. Oswald Brigg opened a dispensary at Tegwani. He wrote:

The surgery is in the open air, the drugs and equipment are of the simplest kind, but the cures wrought are marvellous - at any rate in the eyes of the Africans. When a wound that has been festering for weeks, or perhaps for months-when every native remedy has been tried and has failed - and they make their journey to the nearest mission station, and then, after thorough washing and poulticing, it begins to heal, they are greatly amazed, and what is better, generally very grateful.⁵⁷

Furthermore, when the influenza epidemic hit Zimbabwe in 1918, the Government requested the Revds. G. H. Sketchley and J.H. Loveless to assist in preventing it from spreading among the people. The Government Medical Department sent a message to Sketchley advising precautionary measures. Teachers were sent immediately to get the people out of their homes into the open veld. Fortunately, the rains had not started and people lived in open - air shelters. Sketchley and Loveless obtained medicines from Salisbury and with the assistance of an African evangelist, they managed to control the epidemic at Epworth. Sketchley then rushed to the Zvimba Reserve where the Wesleyans had ten mission stations. After distributing medicines to the people there, he proceeded to Marshall Hartley mission. When he arrived, he found the Revd Josiah Ramushu in a dying condition; he did what he could to save him but he died shortly afterwards.⁵⁸ In time, the epidemic in the Zvimba Reserve was brought under control.⁵⁹ The Government also requested Sketchley and Loveless to go and help control the epidemic in the Wedza Reserve.⁶⁰ They gladly did so; consequently, many lives were saved.

Other Christian denominations also pioneered medical missions among Africans in Zimbabwe during this period. In 1910 the Anglican missionary, Ellaine Lloyd, a nurse by profession, opened a clinic at St Faith's mission.⁶¹ The Church of Sweden opened a clinic at Mnene mission when a nursing Sister, Miss Maria Kohlquist, arrived in September, 1915. At the beginning, the bathroom in the missionary house served as a clinic. When the number of patients grew, the verandah served as a clinic.⁶² The Church of Christ started medical work at Dadaya mission in 1919.⁶³

This concludes our study of the medical missions which were started by various Christian denominations in Zimbabwe between 1893 and 1923.

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Chapter 7

Christian Missions and African Education, 1924-1939

We saw in Chapter 5 how Christian missionaries set up a vast system of schools among the Africans of Zimbabwe between 1898 and 1923 because they viewed Western education as an invaluable evangelistic agency. We noted that initially parents were reluctant to allow their children to attend school and that the children were equally reluctant to attend school. But as the parents began to come to terms with colonial rule, they began to allow their children to attend school. Furthermore, as the advantages of Western education began to be evident to the children, there was a veritable rush to mission schools to acquire Western education. The missionaries took advantage of the hunger and thirst for Western education on the part of the pupils to improve the quality of the education they provided in their schools. This Chapter examines the missionary contribution to African education in Zimbabwe from 1924 to 1939. We shall begin with Matabeleland.

I

Christian Missions and Western Education in Matabeleland, 1924-1939

In Matabeleland, the London Missionary Society concentrated its educational efforts at Inyati and Hope Fountain.

We noted in Chapter 5 that the LMS opened a boys' boarding school at Inyati in 1921 with 21 pupils. The Revd W.G. Brown who was appointed Principal of Inyati in 1924, laid the foundations of industrial training at the school. During the year, land was cleared for ploughing; bricks were made; limestone was quarried and trees were felled. Before the school closed for the holidays, 20 acres of land had been cleared and ploughed. With the 30 acres of land previously cleared, there were altogether 50 acres of land under cultivation. Cotton was planted but the major crop was maize. Animal husbandry was part and parcel of the industrial training offered at the school and the mission bought 10 head of cattle. The Native Commissioner, Mr Charles Bullock, praised the industrial work which was being carried out at the mission under Mr Brown's leadership:

The Revd W.G. Brown ... aims at a practical scheme of Education ... which will help the natives to emerge from barbarism in their home lives. First in the curriculum is agriculture, and his scheme of education in this, the most important of industries, is based on improvements which he believes can be made on Natives' own methods, of which he has a practical knowledge of many years. Fruit and vegetable gardening ... are included in this course, and the policy to be followed in this as in other lessons, is to Learn by doing. Mr Brown is planning with a long view, and has no illusions as to the length of time which must elapse before his scheme comes to full fruition. His work is nevertheless eminently practical, and characterised by the necessary spirit of discipline. I have seen none more promising.¹

When the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, Sir John Chancellor, visited Inyati in January, 1926 he also praised the work which was being done at the school under Mr Brown's leadership. He said he had visited 16 other mission stations since his arrival in the Colony in 1924 but Inyati was the first school which presented him with a complete scheme and plan of work.² During the year, the 57 boys in residence were being trained in building, carpentry, agriculture and academic work. On the scholastic side under a Coloured teacher, Mr Charles Quince³, there were 3 boys in Standard VI, 4 in Standard V, 7 in Standard IV, 29 in Standards I to III; the rest were in the sub-grades.⁴ In 1928 in the agricultural department at Inyati, 42 students were being trained in building, 35 in carpentry and 58 in agriculture. In addition, all the boys were taught gardening.⁵ In 1929 the Government approved the establishment of a teacher training department at Inyati⁶; 15 students applied for admission.⁷

The work at the Girls' School at Hope Fountain also prospered during this period. The most significant development was the establishment of the Normal Department at the mission in July, 1924. Under the leadership of Miss Gladys J. Clarke, a successful start was made and the 4 students in the third year passed their examinations and received certificates.⁸ In 1925 the Director of Education was pleased with the progress which was taking place at the mission:

Hope Fountain is still, as it has been now for some years one of the outstanding mission stations of this country. It is engaged under the unsleeping direction of Mr Neville Jones in the long but honourable task of stabilising native life and character and is conferring a benefit not only on its native pupils and the kraals to which they return, and the families they ultimately rear, but on the white community as well, with the life and prosperity of which that of the native is so closely linked.⁹

When the Inspector of Schools, Mr A.G. Cowling, visited Hope Fountain from 16th to 18th March, 1927 he said the scholastic work was, on the whole, in a satisfactory state. A domestic science course taught by Miss Clarke consisting of laundry work, housewifery, cooking, needlework, gardening, handwork (spinning, basketry, beadwork or pottery) and general hygiene, was introduced at the school for the first time and 8 girls were taking the course. He said the detailed schemes which Miss Clarke had drawn up for these subjects, were well thought out. In the teacher training course, 12 girls did teaching practice at the Grade School (consisting of Grades I to IV) under Miss D.F.V. Willsdon's supervision. He added that the scholastic work of the girls in the teacher training course was in a satisfactory state. So far as the school organisation, school hygiene, teaching methods and the keeping of record books were concerned, he was satisfied that Miss Willsdon was proceeding on sound lines and was giving the girls every chance of becoming efficient teachers. 'The only danger', he said, 'is that her keenness, coupled with inexperience of the somewhat limited scope of the average native mind, may lead her to depart too far from the utilitarian, and to introduce into the curriculum, work beyond her pupils' mental capacity'. He advised her to give frequent tests to her classes to ascertain whether the matter discussed had really been grasped and to omit from the schemes of work, especially in such subjects as hygiene and nature study, everything but the simplest essentials. With regards to the expansion of the school, Mr Cowling said that Mr Jones was, as always, looking to the future. The chief item on the programme during the year was the building of a new Normal School consisting of two classrooms, a locker room, and adequate veranda and a clock tower with provision for extension as the need arose. A commanding site had been chosen and the foundation stone was to be laid on 2nd April, 1927 during the Annual Conference of the South African District Committee of the London Missionary Society which was to be held at the school. The construction of five additional dormitories was also on the programme, followed in 1928 by a domestic science block. In his general remarks on the school, Mr Cowling stated:

This was my first visit to Hope Fountain. I went expecting to find a high standard of efficiency as regards work, discipline, cleanliness, thoroughness; that expectation was realised in every way. The enthusiasm of Mr Jones and his staff is inspiring; if there is a fault, it is the excess of zeal, an attempt to do too much with the material in hand.¹⁰

On his second visit to Hope Fountain on 5th November, 1927 Mr Cowling said that the Normal School was now firmly established under Miss Willsdon's supervision and thorough work was being done. There were 8 girls in Standard IV, 2 in Standard

V and 1 in Standard VI. Each of these pupil - teachers had regularly supervised teaching practice totalling 12 weeks per year; each made her own time table, lesson notes, scheme, record of work and apparatus. In addition, the girls did two hours of scholastic work daily including lessons in the theory of teaching and school method and a good deal of industrial work. He said the girls in Standards V and VI did satisfactory teaching and did reasonably well in the tests on their scholastic work. Seven girls were taking the domestic science course. He said Miss Clarke had wisely modified some of her original schemes of work by cutting out theory and sticking more to practical work. A course in food values and their practical application was added to the syllabus. He said there was a marked improvement in the scholastic work since his last visit and most weaknesses had been eliminated. He added that the school deserved all the financial support the Government could give as Mr Jones was finding it increasingly difficult to make ends meet.¹¹

In her report for the year, the Headmistress of the School, Miss Clarke, said that the great event of the year was the laying of the foundation stone of the new Normal School building by the Revd A.E. Jennings, Chairman of the South African District of the LMS, on 2nd April, 1927 during the Committee's visit to Hope Fountain; the event was well attended by a large number of friends of the mission. In the teacher training course, 9 out of 11 girls passed their examinations at the end of the year. She said the practising school was thoroughly re-organised under Miss Willsdon's supervision. The domestic science course was, on the whole, successful. Talks were given on the values of different foods to the body and the girls learned to choose their menus with correct food balance; they could cook an excellent meal by themselves and had formed clean and healthy habits. She said the girls always enjoyed needlework and handwork lessons and had done efficient work. The girls wove mats; the biggest piece of work was a new mat for the church. Some simple leatherwork was introduced and the girls did some carpentry. She said the girls also enjoyed this branch of the work.

During the second half of the year, the scholastic work improved considerably; examinations were held as usual at the beginning of November and throughout the school, the girls did their neatest and best work. She said in the industrial department, the pottery and basketry classes were still one of the main features of the school curriculum and improvement had taken place in both subjects. The girls did a good deal of decorating the pots themselves; they had acquired some sense of design and pattern. In addition to making their uniforms, most of the older girls had learned how to make a pattern for themselves and how to adapt it for various garments.¹² During the year, the mission seriously started to farm when it employed a farm foreman who had been trained at Inyati to deal with this side of the work.¹³

In 1928, 11 out of 14 girls taking the teacher training course at Hope Fountain, passed their examinations.¹⁴ The Director of Native Education congratulated Hope Fountain and all who were responsible for its various departments on what had been achieved at the school and expressed the confident hope that more would be achieved in the future for the good of the people of Matabeleland and especially the advancement of women.¹⁵ In 1929, 15 out of 22 girls taking the teacher training course at Hope Fountain passed their examinations.¹⁶ The following number of students passed their teacher training examinations: 23 out of 24 in 1930¹⁷; 16 out of 18 in 1931¹⁸; 27 out of 33 in 1933¹⁹ and 20 out of 23 in 1934.²⁰

We noted earlier that the Government approved the establishment of a teacher training course at Inyati in 1929. In 1930 all the 16 boys in the course, passed their examinations.²¹ The Organising Instructor of Manual Training, Mr S. Haworth, praised the industrial work which was being carried out at Inyati. He said that agriculture was, on the whole, well conducted and the instructional side received its fair share of attention. The mission farm was run on a rotation basis. Twenty demonstration plots were planted. He said vegetable gardening was effectively taught; the farm was well laid out and the work was well organised; a large variety of fruit trees was also grown. The woodwork consisted mainly of the making of things needed in the building department and the general equipment of the school. Operations were suitably graded according to the number of years of experience of the pupils. Instruction was given in the selection, felling, dressing, pit-sawing, shaping and finishing of woods. The teachers-in-training made cupboards for use in the school room. A fine supply of teak and mukwa woods had been hauled in readiness for future use; the standard of workmanship in all classes, was good. He said building was extraordinarily good throughout.

Since the last inspection report in November, 1929 the boys had completed the construction of: the power and engine house; the basement for new tanning, drying and work rooms; a two-roomed practising school; a new four-roomed staff house; a kitchen and garage block; a school room and a new storage reservoir. The work was done in all cases in burnt bricks and roofing was either in iron or driven thatching; all the woodwork was done at the school, the entire work was done and well done by the pupils. In leatherwork, pupils received graded instruction in the skinning and the preparation of hides, in the preparation and uses of tree bark, in airing, tanning, drying, oiling, stuffing, softening, dyeing and finishing. The work was done in cow, ox, calf, goat and various buck skins. Operations consisted of the making and repairing of mule and donkey harness and saddlery, the making of reins and strops, straps, belts, sandals, shoes and boots; the workmanship was good. In his concluding

remarks, Mr Haworth said Inyati was a most efficient institution and the policy of good workmanship was pursued throughout the school.²²

In 1931, 22 out of 24 boys in the teacher training course at Inyati, passed their examinations.²³ When the Overseas Secretary of the London Missionary Society, the Revd A.M. Chirgwin, visited Inyati in January, 1932 he was very impressed by the developments which were taking place at the school:

I was struck with the quality of the buildings on the station. Shoddy work is not allowed at Inyati. Considering that the materials are made by the boys and the buildings put up by the boys, I was as astonished as I was delighted. Ten or a dozen buildings have been put up in the last six years, and I could not see one bit of unworthy or slipshod work anywhere ... The boys work in two sections, one group doing practical work in the vegetable garden, carpenters' shop, tannery, etc., while the other group is in school doing classwork ... The teacher training work struck me as being particularly good. The methods are modern and the results distinctly creditable.²⁴

In 1933, 15 out of 16 students in the teacher training course at Inyati passed their examinations including 9 who completed the course and were available for deployment.²⁵ In 1934 the Revd, W.G. Brown accepted an important educational post in Government and resigned the principalship of Hope Fountain; he was succeeded by Mr Seagar.²⁶ At the end of the year, 14 out of 15 students in the teacher training course passed their examinations including 5 who completed the course.²⁷ In 1935, 22 out of 29 students in the teacher training course, passed their examinations²⁸ while in 1937, 36 out of 42 students passed their examinations.²⁹ In 1938 the teacher training department at Inyati was transferred to Hope Fountain due to frequent changes of staff and lack of continuity.³⁰ In 1939 Mr A.E. Walden who had served the London Missionary Society for 12 years in India, was appointed Principal of Inyati.³¹

Meanwhile, in May, 1924 the Wesleyans opened a boys' boarding school at Tegwani³² under the leadership of the Revd Herbert Carter. Starting with 6 boarders, the enrolment increased to 64 in May, 1926.³³ Tegwani offered both industrial and academic education.

In his report on Tegwani for 1927 the Inspector of Schools, Mr A.G. Cowling, said that in the carpentry class of the industrial department under Mr Azael Letsoalo, the tools were of very good quality and in an excellent condition and the work was in a satisfactory state. In the building department, the staff consisted of Mr Ngala Napa;

an assistant builder, Mr Pendula Mlalazi and a carpenter-builder, Mr David Mathlare. He said the staff was adequate and the workmanship good. In the agriculture department, Mr Carter took theoretical teaching while Mr Philip Pile took charge of the practical work; over 40 acres of land were under cultivation and the work was being done on 'sound principles'.³⁴

In October, 1929 Mr W. Tregidgo was appointed Principal of Tegwani.³⁵ The appointment of Mr Tregidgo, an educationist, as Principal, made it possible to contemplate the establishment of a teacher training course at Tegwani. Accordingly, permission was sought and obtained from the Government and the course was launched in 1930. At the end of the year, 22 out of 27 students in the course, passed their examinations³⁶; 19 out of 23 passed in 1931³⁷ while 26 of 29 passed in 1933 including 6 who completed the course.³⁸

In January, 1934 the Wesleyans opened a girls' boarding department at Tegwani with 11 boarders³⁹; the year ended with 17 girls in residence.⁴⁰ The enrolment of boarders in the girls' department increased from 28 in 1935⁴¹ to 40 in 1936.⁴² In 1937 Miss Edna Garton arrived at Tegwani to take charge of Domestic Science in the girls' department.⁴³ At the end of the year, 40 out of 44 students in the teacher training course, passed their examinations.⁴⁴

In July, 1938 Mr Guy Merry was appointed industrial instructor for the boys' department at Tegwani while Miss Edna Garton continued to train girls in domestic science.⁴⁵ During the year, of the 182 students enrolled at Tegwani, 30 were in the teacher training course and 22 boys were taking industrial courses.⁴⁶

In March, 1939 Miss D. Warwick arrived at Tegwani to take charge of the girls' department.⁴⁷ During the year, of the 208 students enrolled at the mission, 26 were in the teacher training course while 23 were taking industrial courses. In the teacher training course, 9 out of 10 students in the second year passed their examinations while 15 out of 16 students in the first year passed their examinations. In the industrial courses, 13 out of 18 students in the second year passed their examinations while all 5 students in the third year, passed their examinations at the end of the year.⁴⁸ These developments augured well for the future of Tegwani.

The Seventh Day Adventists focused their educational energies at Solusi. In 1924, 99 boarders were enrolled at the mission of whom 57 were boys and 42 were girls and 20 were day scholars attending the English medium classes; there was also a small vernacular class for children from the neighbouring villages. The teacher

training class consisted of 10 boys and 1 girl drawn from among the boarders. The teaching of English was in the hands of Mrs Jewell. The resident Superintendent, the Revd S. Palmer, taught History, Geography and Arithmetic while Mrs Palmer took charge of the professional training, class management and method. The vernacular school was used as a practising school for student-teachers. Mrs Palmer who was also in charge of industrial training for girls, taught sewing for a three-hour session three times a week; she taught the girls how to cut and make their own garments. When the Inspector of Schools, Mr J.B. Brady, visited the mission from 6th to 7th July, 1924 he said the sewing class was engaged in making the new school uniform which, whilst plain and serviceable, was of a pleasing design; he added that some really good work was being done. In addition, the girls did basket weaving for three hours per week and assisted in the general farming operations for three hours daily before the morning school and on those afternoons not devoted to sewing and basket weaving.

The industrial training for boys was confined to general farming operations, ploughing, planting, reaping and care of cattle under the direction of the farm manager, Mr Tarr, who had a wide and long experience of South African farming conditions and was not only an expert farmer but also a keen student of modern farming methods and practice; 110 acres were under cultivation.⁴⁹

In 1928, 6 out of 10 students in the teacher training course at Solusi, passed their examinations.⁵⁰ The examination results were particularly poor in 1929 when only 6 out of 17 students passed their examinations.⁵¹ The results were also poor in 1930 when 15 out of 25 students passed their examinations.⁵² However, the results began to improve as shown by the number of student-teachers who passed their examinations during this period: 22 out of 27 in 1931⁵³; 26 out of 30 in 1933⁵⁴; 36 out of 43 in 1934⁵⁵; 26 out of 28 in 1935⁵⁶ and 30 out of 32 in 1937.⁵⁷

The Brethren in Christ Church concentrated its educational work at Mtshabezi girls' boarding school and at Matopo mission.

In 1924, 130 girls were enrolled at Mtshabezi girls' boarding school.⁵⁸ Western education continued to be as popular with the girls as ever. In this respect, the report for 1925 stated: 'Girls have been coming to the boarding school faster than we can increase our staff, dormitories or financial support to care for them, and though it was hard we were compelled to turn some away'. At the end of the year, 143 boarders were enrolled at the mission.⁵⁹ After inspecting Mtshabezi on 12th January, 1925 the Inspector of Schools, Mr R. McIntosh, said several girls were receiving domestic training of 'the most careful and effective kind' from Mrs Winger and her colleagues,

Mrs Lady and Misses Sadie and Grace Book who directed the work of the households, the laundry, the dairy and the poultry yard. He added that the academic and industrial work complemented one another, forming a complete whole and the mission was a hive of industry.⁶⁰

When the Inspector of Schools, Mr A.R. Mackenzie, visited Mtshabezi mission on 24th August, 1926 he said the standard of the work in the day school under Miss S. Book, was excellent and discipline was good. In the boarding school, the work was much more advanced; the school was well staffed and the work was substantially good. He said a genuine effort was made to enable the girls to acquire a conversational knowledge of English and the effort was meeting with considerable success; as in the day school, discipline was excellent. Industrial training in laundry, dress making and sewing, knitting, mat making, dairying and general domestic training, occupied a prominent place in the curriculum. He added that the training given was highly efficient and equal to the best he had seen in similar institutions.⁶¹

In 1927 industrial training at Mtshabezi continued to occupy a prominent place in the curriculum. All the boarders did five hours of sewing or knitting weekly. The girls took turns at housework, cooking, matmaking, laundrywork, vegetable gardening and field work. 'It is pleasing to record', Mr Mackenzie stated, 'that the conditions of living, the efficiency and enthusiasm of the staff, and the general atmosphere of the mission appear to be ideally suited to bring about an immense improvement in the life and outlook of these girls'.⁶²

At Matopo mission, industrial work also featured prominently in the curriculum. When he inspected the mission on 25th October, 1925, Mr McIntosh wrote:

The real schooling given is in the industrial work and in this respect, admirable progress has been made. The station itself, set among great rocks, with orchards and eucalyptus trees in the foreground, the abundance of good buildings, the grove of eucalyptus behind all, is a picture of what can be achieved by quiet, carefully directed, unremitting industry ... it is from the spirit and labour that has created this that the native pupils derive any real knowledge they possess. They share in the work of the fields, of the vegetable garden, of the orchards, of lemon and orange trees, guavas, peaches, quinces, apricots, of the cattle and goat kraals, pig pens and fowl runs, of the dairy, of the plantations of pine, cypress and eucalyptus, and of the larger and well equipped carpenter's and wheel wright's shop. They learn by actual use the work of many instruments from the hoe to the steam

engine. It is in the daily care of the crops, the cattle, the fruit, the timber and in the dairy and workshops that they receive their real training and in this respect, the mission is a seminary of sound and most useful learning ... To the guidance and development of all this busy and intelligent life and work, Mr and Mrs Climenhaga, Miss Winger, and Mr Manu have devoted their days, and it must be a source of happiness to them, and of satisfaction to their Church authorities at home, to find their arduous and often trying labours crowned with increasing success. Government owes a debt, not easily paid, to this and similar institutions which are doing so much for the future peace and prosperity of this country.⁶³

When Mr Mackenzie inspected Matopo mission on 23rd August, 1926 he said that in the day school under Miss A.E. Winger, satisfactory work was being done while in the upper division of the training school taught by Mr Climenhaga, the work was, on the whole, quite good and contained promising pupils. He said that in the lower division of the training school, the work was not so good but generally up to the standard found in similar institutions. The industrial activities comprised of instruction in carpentry, brick making, building and general training in agricultural methods and gardening. He suggested, however, that instruction in carpentry, brick making and building should be made more systematic and continuous.⁶⁴

In 1930 the Organising Instructor of Manual Training, Mr Haworth, also praised the industrial work at Matopo mission. He said the agricultural work was extremely well conducted both on the instructional and on the production side; work on 20 demonstration plots was carried out both in summer and in winter with very satisfactory results. He also mentioned the good work done in the vegetable garden and in the orchard, in the annual planting of trees for timber, in the careful recording of crop yields and in the manner in which the suggestions from the Department of Native Development were seriously considered. The wood work consisted of the making of simple articles in daily use, such as hammer and tool handles, skeys, yokes, walking sticks, porridge sticks and spoons, parts of wagons and carts. More advanced work included the making of doors, door and window frames, roofing materials, tables and chairs in softwoods and indigenous timbers. In the building department, two teachers' cottages built of Kimberley bricks with stone foundations, roofed with gum poles and driven thatch, had been put up and were nearing completion. A new dormitory of burnt brick was being erected and the entire building programme was being done by the pupils.⁶⁵

The Brethren In Christ Church formally launched a teacher training course at Matopo mission for both boys and girls in January 1932.⁶⁶ The following number of students passed their teacher training examinations: 17 out of 20 in 1933⁶⁷; 24 out of 29 in 1934⁶⁸; 36 out of 39 in 1935⁶⁹ and 46 out of 50 in 1937.⁷⁰

This concludes our survey of the education provided by Christian missions in Matabeleland from 1924 to 1939.

II

Christian Missions and Western Education in Mashonaland, 1924-1939

In Mashonaland, the Wesleyans developed Waddilove into a major educational institution.⁷¹ As in the pioneer period, emphasis was both on academic and industrial training.

In 1924 Mr C.E.O. Rush was appointed Principal of Waddilove; Miss Marjory Hudson of the Women's Auxiliary, took charge of the Practising School while Mr H.B. Davies was appointed instructor in animal husbandry and agriculture.⁷² In his report, the Inspector of Schools, Mr J. Condry, said the work at Waddilove was highly efficient throughout. Animal husbandry and agriculture were systematically taught by Mr Davies. Miss Smallwood continued to do excellent work in the girls' department. In this respect, Mr Condry wrote:

There is no more effective and useful work being done for the native anywhere in Rhodesia than is being done by Miss Smallwood. Her course of instruction includes practical hygiene, Sewing, Laundry Work, Housewifery, Cooking, Spinning and Weaving, Raffia and the making of mats from mealie products and gardening.⁷³

The work at Waddilove was also praised by members of the Phelps Stokes Commission when they visited the Institution during the year. Some of the best teaching seen by the Commission was in the Practising School of the Normal Department. The Commission said the institution was very efficiently run and had the reputation of being one of the best in the Colony.⁷⁴

In 1925 Mr Condry praised the work of the carpentry class of the industrial department at Waddilove under Mr Chisnall's supervision. 'The importance of this class', he

stated, 'cannot be overestimated. The natives are getting valuable instruction in the workshop and thorough training in practical work'. In his general remarks on the mission, he stated:

Nengubo Mission is a valuable institution to both Church and State. It is engaged in weaning the native from the deadening influence of the spirit world; it gives him a religion which intimately concerns his best interests both in the present and the future state; it increases his capacity as a wage-earner and makes him a more useful member of the State.⁷⁵

In 1926 the enrolment of 360 students at Waddilove was, according to the Principal, the Revd John White, the largest admitted into the institution since it began.⁷⁶ Mr Condry attributed the success of Waddilove to the Principal, the Revd John White. 'Mr White', he said, 'has had long and varied experience of native work in Rhodesia. When selecting a worker for his Mission, he knows exactly what qualities to look for'.⁷⁷

In 1927 Mr Condry was again impressed with the work being carried out at Waddilove. He said the results throughout were exceptionally good. The student-teachers displayed a knowledge of commercial Geography and general History which surprised him. 'These students', he said, 'have been trained to think and reason, and they have proved that the native is capable of intellectual development'. Mr H.H. Morley-Wright, an Honours Graduate in Science, arrived in June to take charge of the school. Mr Condry said the Junior School, ably conducted by Miss Hudson was, in every respect, a model school and no better training could be desired for the student-teachers. He said agriculture and animal husbandry were making good progress under the able direction of Mr Davies. The field work and gardening operations were carefully organised. The advantages of manuring and crop rotation were ably demonstrated in the garden plots. Mr Condry again drew special attention to the excellent work of Miss Smallwood in the girls' department. 'As far as I am able to judge', he said, 'the work in spinning and weaving, needlework, laundry and domestic training could not be excelled'. He again attributed the success of Waddilove to the leadership of the Revd John White: 'I consider that the success of this Mission is due in the first place to Mr White's ability for organisation and in the second place to his unerring judgement in selecting his staff'.⁷⁸

In 1928 Mr Condry said the best features he had seen at Waddilove were the work in practical teaching especially in the kindergarten and project methods. He paid tribute to the work that Miss Hudson carried out 'so admirably single - handedly.'

'Generally', he reported, 'the work at Waddilove is the best I have knowledge of in this Territory'.⁷⁹

In 1929 in her report on the girls' department at Waddilove, the Organising Instructress of Domestic Science, W.W. Waters, said the work done by the girls in sewing, was excellent; the girls had made various garments, both useful and artistic. In laundry, very valuable training was given in washing, starching and ironing of various garments.⁸⁰

In 1930 the Inspector of Schools, Mr J.H. Farquhar, was pleased with the work he saw at Waddilove particularly in the teacher training class. He said real initiative marked all the lessons taught. Apparatus and teaching aids had been carefully prepared and in certain instances, it was surprising to find the amount of material provided at short notice. The student-teachers were generally pleasant in manner, spoke well, had good control, maintained interest and had mastered to 'an astonishing degree' the art of questioning. He was also pleased with the methods employed by the student-teachers and said the scripts written by Standard V pupils showed that the method notes were extremely practical and very suitable for teachers who would eventually teach in village schools. He said it was evident that the students had mastered thoroughly what they had been taught; theory was not divorced from practice and the pupils were given sound reasons for the methods they were being taught. In the building department, the foundation and brick-work of the new dining hall had been completed and the building was ready for roofing, the principal sections of which were being constructed by the carpentry students. In agriculture, good progress was being made under the new instructor, Mr Addison. In animal husbandry, the herd of cattle was being improved. Mr Farquhar said that the building programme, the agricultural work and new teaching techniques were but a few of the things that showed that Waddilove was dynamic and was in the forefront in the field of education in the country.⁸¹

In 1932 the Organising Instructor of Manual Training, Mr S. Haworth, after inspecting the work in the industrial department at Waddilove, said the results of the examination were, on the whole, 'unusually good' and indicated that 'thorough and systematic training' was given in all Standards. The average marks were very satisfactory and progress in all Standards was also good; the high marks in Standard VI demonstrated that Waddilove maintained 'the right stress on industrial work right up to the top of the school'.⁸² The Inspector of Schools, Mr George Stark, after examining the teachers-in-training in Practical Teaching, said there was ample evidence that the Method Master had given much thought to the Training School and

that the student-teachers had been carefully trained in the technique of handling classes. He was equally pleased with the methods employed by the student-teachers. The Method Paper in Standard VII was very well done:

There were ample indications that the pupils of this class had a good grasp of elementary educational principles, in theory at least. Indeed throughout the Training School, evidence was available that sound teaching was given in this subject. The Method Master is following his own syllabus at present and though at first sight the syllabus appears ambitious, the pupils by a series of guided observations are led to arrive at the conclusion forming the basis of the particular principle it is desired to teach.⁸³

The Director of Native Education, Mr Harold Jowitt, said the training given by the Method Master in the Teacher Training course at Waddilove, was stimulating and effective. It was evident throughout the course that sound instruction in Practical Teaching had been given.⁸⁴ In his farewell address to the institution in 1934 Mr Jowitt said Waddilove 'led the way in educational progress among Africans in the Colony'.⁸⁵

At Chishawasha, the Jesuits continued to offer both industrial and academic training. In 1926 industrial training at Chishawasha was in the hands of five lay Brothers each of whom was an expert in his field. The industrial training offered during the year to 31 boarding pupils consisted of carpentry, blacksmithing, gardening, building and stone-cutting. The carpentry course included (a) the making of household furniture in indigenous and mission-grown timber; (b) the making of doors, windows, door and window frames, roof beams, floors and ceiling; (c) repairs of all farm implements such as wagons and scotch carts. The blacksmithing course included (a) the making of garden gates and staircases; (b) household furnishings, in particular, stoves which were sent to various Catholic boarding schools and orphanages such as the Emerald Hill Orphanage and the convents in Salisbury, Bulawayo and Gwelo; (c) repairs of farm implements such as ploughs, cultivators, sewing machines as well as all metal parts for wagons and carts. Gardening consisted of the care of the vegetable garden, the produce of which was used by the mission, care of 2 000 vines and the fruit orchard. According to Mr McIntosh, the fully-trained boys at Chishawasha were able, without European supervision, to build a complete farm house or a complete tobacco barn. There were so many applications from farmers for the services of the Chishawasha boys that the mission could not meet the demand although as far as possible, it was anxious to do so. The Chishawasha boys built and completed Mr Moreland's house in the neighbourhood with practically no supervision. They also

built the Coloured School in Avondale, Salisbury, entirely without European supervision. Mr McIntosh said the industrial training at Chishawasha was very practical. 'The trained boy', he added 'is a finished article, having the highest degree of competence with which an indigenous native can at present be equipped. The training has not only variety but extent, since it includes complete houses, barns, wagons, carts, gates, stoves, plantations of trees and extensive gardens'.⁸⁶

This type of industrial training was continued at Chishawasha in the 1930s. In 1934 according to the Organising Instructor of Manual Training, Mr S. Haworth, agricultural training continued to be good on the whole and sound agricultural procedure was followed; approximately 160 acres were under cultivation and the yields were generally above the average. Animal husbandry was particularly good; extensive dairying and poultry keeping were carried out; the mission reared a large flock of Black Head cross sheep and kept a few pigs. Considerable attention was given to the production of the essential food stuffs for livestock generally, such as hay, silage, roots and the necessary grain crops. Vegetable gardening was regularly done and a useful variety of crops was grown. Forestry was being pursued on a satisfactory scale; about 2 000 gum seedlings had been grown and were ready for planting. Ten circular huts for dormitories had been built in burnt bricks with driven thatch; all the necessary wood work for the huts had been made by the pupils from local materials. A coat of whitewash inside made them look very clean and added considerably to the lighting. The wagon-building section of the woodwork department was excellent. Mr Haworth added that Chishawasha was one of the few mission stations where practically the whole of the woodwork and metal work parts for wagons and scotch carts were made on the spot; to this extent, the woodwork course was particularly useful. He said the metal workshop was very well equipped and very sound practical work was done. Operations ranged from construction in wire, tin, sheet and bar iron to the heavier metal work required in the construction of wagons and scotch carts.

Seven pupils were taking the leatherwork course and were doing very promising work. The course began with the making of simple articles such as belts, bags, pouches and satchels to harness making and the production of footballs and suitcases. The pupils also repaired boots and shoes. Four pupils were taking the printing and bookbinding course and did very good work. All operations from the cutting of the paper to the final binding of the completed books was done by the pupils and the work was, on the whole, of good quality. The craftwork done by the lower grade pupils included fibrework, mat making and basketry. Materials used included tree barks, sisal, cotton, rushes, reeds, palm leaves, rattan and vines. Dyes were obtained from roots, leaves, flowers and tree barks. Operations included the making of thread, string, ropes, small and large mats, baskets, trays, brushes and brooms.

Eight boys took tailoring as their special industrial subject; the course was carefully planned and well taught by the Sisters. The work done and completed by the pupils was quite satisfactory; in short, Chishawasha was a good school with great possibilities.⁸⁷

At the Convent and Central Boarding School, the Inspector of Schools, Mr George Stark, said the organisation of the school was very good indeed; the time-table, schemes and records of work had been carefully thought out and were up to date. He said throughout the school, very painstaking and conscientious work was being done by the teachers. In the lower grades where there were very young children, methods suitable for young children were adopted with marked success. Good progress was being made in the teaching of oral English and the response from the pupils was encouraging; the tone of the school was high. 'If the pupils can be taught to rely more on themselves and less on the teachers', he added, 'a big step forward in still further achievement will be made'.⁸⁸

In the girls' department, according to the Organising Instructor of Domestic Science, Miss J.G. Rudd, the needlework throughout the school was good and that both from a utility point of view and neatness, the work showed continuous improvement. In the laundry department, the washing was thoroughly and carefully done and the ironing was satisfactory. In fibre work, the quality of the work had improved and was very varied. The work in housewifery was particularly good, very thorough and practical. The girls were also doing good work in gardening. 'A visit to Chishawasha', she said, 'is always a pleasure, as there is no staff more conscientious or anxious to achieve good work than the Sisters at the Mission ...'⁸⁹

In 1935 Mr Haworth said that the pupils at Chishawasha were doing good practical work in agriculture and animal husbandry and the four-year crop rotation was particularly effective. The animal husbandry section was also good; dairying was regularly carried out and the sheep and poultry sections were very well handled. Vegetable gardening was much better and more attention was being given to fruit growing. Tree planting continued to be done on satisfactory lines and a new block of cypress trees had been planted. The mission made additions to the fruit orchard and young trees were growing fairly well.

Building was satisfactory; several new circular huts of suitable design and fairly good workmanship, had been erected in the previous twelve months; an excellent blacksmith's shop had also been erected. Woodwork continued to be pursued on satisfactory lines and the various recommendations had been carefully followed.

Metalwork was satisfactory; instruction in this subject was in the hands of Mr Kamillo Mutandwa who was an efficient and experienced blacksmith. Leatherwork was making good progress; tanning of hides was now done at the mission and the workmanship generally was satisfactory. Tailoring was carried on satisfactorily under the direction of Sister Basila; the work was confined to the making of garments for the boys and girls at the mission. A few pupils were taking the printing course. The craftwork included fibre work, matmaking and basketry and was satisfactorily taught by Mr Simon Taoneyi.⁹⁰

In the girls' department, according to Miss Rudd, the laundry work at Chishawasha showed improvement; the clothes were of a good colour, correct methods were being used and the speed in ironing had improved considerably. The needlework throughout the school showed vast improvement; she said she knew of no other school that had made greater progress in needlework than Chishawasha. In housewifery, as usual, the girls were doing very good work; the first aid schemes and notes were particularly good. The gardens were in an excellent condition, very tidy and well kept and the vegetables were very good and nicely grown. She was very pleased with the really good, all-round improvement in the practical work and in the theory and with the intelligence displayed by the girls and the interest they showed in their work.⁹¹

In 1936 after inspecting the girls' industrial work at Chishawasha, Miss Rudd said the laundry work was satisfactory; the sewing on the whole, was good and stitching in Standards IV and V was extremely neat. Very good work was being done in housewifery. In general, every effort was being made to improve the girls' industrial work at Chishawasha.⁹²

In 1937 Mr Haworth said the agricultural work in the boys' department at Chishawasha was steadily improving and was being developed on the lines recommended. The practical demonstration plots were good and well cared for. Woodwork and metalwork were fairly good. Craftwork was good and well organised.⁹³ In the girls' department, Miss Rudd said the needlework showed improvement; the craftwork was steadily improving and the vegetable gardening was very good. In the upper Standards, however, too many subjects were being attempted at the same time.⁹⁴

In 1938 Mr Haworth said the practical side of the boys' industrial work at Chishawasha was improving. Theory was weak but was now being taught systematically by Brother Waddilove. Tree planting was improving and building was fairly good and was being taught on the lines recommended. A new teacher had taken over the wood work and was following the syllabus as recommended. Metal work was taught by

Brother Blackledge and was definitely good on the practical side; in theory work, however, the pupils were weak. Craftwork was taught by the Sisters and the academic teachers and was in sections, quite satisfactory. The main weakness at Chishawasha he stated, 'is on the theoretical side. Pupils in high standards are very weak in quite elementary work. This is largely due to lack of practical application in the academic lessons and to the practice of grouping several standards together. Theory and practice must be closely related and pupils must have more understanding of what they are doing and why they are doing it. Industrially the pupils, particularly in Standards IV, V and VI, are below the standard desirable for these classes ... Class work must be kept quite distinct from general work and teachers must put in the full times recommended in real instruction work'.⁹⁵ In the girls' department, the needlework throughout the school showed careful work and a good First Aid course was being given and the girls seemed thoroughly interested in this subject.⁹⁶ Judging by the various inspection reports, it should be quite clear that, on the whole, competent industrial and academic training for both boys and girls, were undertaken at Chishawasha.

Meanwhile, the Jesuits opened a teacher training school at Kutama in January, 1926 under the leadership of Mgr. Brown.⁹⁷ The school began with 12 students who had passed Standard II. During the year, Fr Callan arrived at Kutama to head the teacher training school; he was assisted by Mr Joseph Dambaza.⁹⁸ Of the 12 students, only 4 passed the Standard III examination at the end of the year.⁹⁹

In 1927, 25 students were enrolled in the teacher training course at Kutama of whom 7 dropped from the course during the year. Of the 18 who completed the year, 12 were in the first year and 6 in the second year.¹⁰⁰ The 18 students who completed the year were drawn from five Catholic mission stations with 1 from Gwelo, 2 from Empandeni, 2 from Driefontein, 4 from Gokomere and 7 from Kutama.¹⁰¹ In 1928 of the 15 students taking the teacher training course at Kutama, 11 passed their examinations at the end of the year.¹⁰² In 1929, 23 students were enrolled in the teacher training course at Kutama of whom 12 were in Standard IV and 11 were in Standard V drawn from 13 Catholic mission stations.¹⁰³ Of the 22 students who wrote their examinations at the end of the year, 19 passed.¹⁰⁴

In 1930 the teacher training class at Kutama comprised of 47 students of whom 10 were in Standard 6, 15 were in Standard 5 and 21 were in Standard 4.¹⁰⁵ Of the 42 students who took their examinations at the end of the year, 33 passed including 7 who completed the course and were available for teaching.¹⁰⁶ In 1931 Fr O'Hea arrived at Kutama to take charge of the mission; he was assisted by Frs. Ketterer and Tasman,

Messrs. Jordan and Meyer and Brother Breiten. An immediate re-appraisal of the work was undertaken to ensure a better quality of both professional and academic subjects. Quarters were re-allocated and improved and electricity was supplied by a dynamo and storage cells.¹⁰⁷ At the end of the year 60 out of 69 students taking the teacher training course, passed their examinations including 15 who completed the course and were available for posting.¹⁰⁸ In 1932, of the 68 students in the teacher training course at Kutama, 10 were in Standard 6, 21 were in Standard 5 and 37 were in Standard 4. The enrolment increased to 77 in 1933.¹⁰⁹

In 1935, 97 students were enrolled in the teacher training course at Kutama of whom 79 passed their examinations including 12 who completed the course and were available for teaching.¹¹⁰ During the year, industrial subjects consisted of agriculture, building, woodwork, craftwork and sewing. Agriculture was in the hands of Mr Dowling and the Head of the Practising School, Mr Antoni Mapfumo and was confined principally to the 4-year crop rotation plots on the mission farm. According to the Organising Instructor of Manual Training, Mr S. Haworth, the work was fairly well done on the whole. Vegetable gardening continued as in the past to be quite satisfactory. Fruit growing had also been done in a small way; a new block of about one acre which was to be planted with fruit trees, had been ploughed.

Building was, on the whole, satisfactory and considerable improvements were taking place in the teaching of this subject; Mr Van Alphen had taken charge of the work and was already shaping well. The woodwork which was also supervised by Mr Van Alphen, was also continuing on satisfactory lines and suitable instruction was being given. The craftwork taught in the Practising School by Mr Antoni Mapfumo, consisted of clay modelling, basketry, fibrework and woodcarving; Mrs Van Alphen taught sewing to both boys and girls. In his general remarks, Mr Haworth said that the teaching of industrial work had much improved; the appointment of Messrs. Dowling and Van Alphen as industrial instructors had greatly strengthened the staff.¹¹¹

In 1937, 34 out of 88 students in the teacher training course at Kutama failed their examinations.¹¹² This was due to shortage of staff. Accordingly, in March, 1938 Bishop A. Chichester began negotiating with the Revd Clement, a Canadian Marist Brother whose delegation was visiting the Union of South Africa, for the recruitment of Marist Brothers to teach at Kutama. As a result, five Canadian Marist Brothers after spending the academic year 1937-1938 at the Institute of Education of the University of London as well as sometime in the Marist Schools of the Union of South Africa, arrived at Kutama towards the end of the year.¹¹³

In 1939 of the 47 students taking the teacher training course at Kutama, 30 were in Standard VI and 17 in Standard VII. According to the Inspector of Schools of the Salisbury North Circuit, Mr E.H. Smith, a very satisfactory beginning was made by the new staff. English was being taught by Brother Waltston who had very considerable experience of teaching the subject both in Australia and in the Union of South Africa. He said the debates held by Standard VI and Standard VII students showed that there was an increased understanding of simple English idioms and turns of speech.

The practice teaching was receiving close supervision. The large number of pupils in the Practising School had enabled the organisation of the practice teaching to be much easier and better than in previous years.¹¹⁴ During the year two more Brothers arrived, one to increase the teaching staff and the other to help with the industrial work. In the third year of the teacher training course, all 16 students passed their examinations while in the second year 27 out of 29 students passed their examinations. According to Mr Smith, the examination results showed that the new staff had rapidly settled down to the entirely new conditions in which they started work at the beginning of the year and a very satisfactory year's work had been accomplished.¹¹⁵

Judging by the various inspection reports and other contemporary evidence, it is quite clear that Kutama made a tremendous contribution to African education during this period. The well-known Zimbabwean author, Mr Lawrence Vambe¹¹⁶, who completed teacher training at Kutama in 1934¹¹⁷, said that Kutama made two important contributions in the development of Zimbabwe. Firstly, it prepared student-teachers to fight ignorance and to liberate Africans from the bondage of illiteracy and ultimately to free themselves from the oppression of the colonial system. Secondly, the teachers at Kutama instilled a new self-confidence in the students that they had the capacity and intelligence as white people; that they were as good as anybody and that with hard work they were capable of reaching the highest levels of achievement. This was significant in the context of a colonial system which emphasised African inferiority.¹¹⁸

Meanwhile, in 1933 the Catholics opened a three-year teacher training course for girls at Monte Cassino.¹¹⁹ At the end of the year, 11 out of 12 girls in the course passed their examinations¹²⁰ while in 1934, 12 out of 17 girls in the course passed their examinations.¹²¹

In 1935, of the 20 students in the teacher training course at Monte Cassino, 10 were in Standard 5 and 10 were in Standard 6. In practical teaching, the Inspector of Native Development, Mr J. H. Farquhar, said that students had good apparatus; ability to

control classes ranged from average to good while the introductions were weak and unrelated. However, generally speaking, there had been considerable advance.¹²² At the end of the year, 18 out of 20 students in the course passed their examinations.¹²³

In 1936, 29 students were enrolled in the teacher training course at Monte Cassino. Of these, 7 out of 10 in the first year passed their examinations; 10 out of 12 in the second year passed while all 7 in the third year passed their examinations. According to Mr Farquhar, the practical teaching showed great improvement over the work of the previous year; lesson notes were good on the whole and lesson plans had been worked out thoroughly during the year. 'The students', he said, 'approached their lessons with confidence, showed good control of the classes, held the interest of the pupils and developed their lessons logically'. He added that the pupils showed that they had grasped the fundamental principles of teaching. On the academic side, however, the students were much weaker although great improvement had been made; their ground work was faulty and this deficiency had handicapped them throughout their training. Furthermore, their general weakness in English was a hindrance in all subjects. However, there had been great improvement all round and the girls who had graduated knew definitely how to teach.¹²⁴

The industrial work included housewifery and laundry. According to the Organising Instructress of Domestic Science, Miss Rudd, practical housewifery was good; the girls worked quickly and tidily. The laundry work showed a marked improvement; the methods used were good and the speed and finish of the laundered articles had improved. The theory papers, however, were on the whole, disappointing; the girls expressed themselves badly - even when the papers were written in the vernacular - and could not put down their thoughts concisely.¹²⁵

In 1937, 32 out of 38 girls in the teacher training course at Monte Cassino passed their examinations including 8 who completed the course and received certificates.¹²⁶ In industrial work, according to Miss Rudd, practical work in laundry was very good. The girls worked quickly and a very satisfactory standard of work had been reached in the subject. In needlework, the finished year's work for third-year pupils was extremely good. In the third year practical tests which included laundry, housewifery, first aid, pottery and basketry, the pupils did very well; they worked briskly and quickly and planned their work very well; the pottery was particularly good and much progress had been made in this work during the year.¹²⁷

In 1938, 28 girls were taking the teacher training course at Monte Cassino; of these, 15 were in the second year while 13 were in the third year. When Mr J.H. Farquhar

inspected the mission from 25th to 29th July, he said the general level of academic work was still low although a definite improvement had been made.¹²⁸ When he re-inspected the mission from 21st to 25th November, Mr Farquhar said that the first examination paper which dealt with school organisation showed a fair grasp of the subject. In the second paper which dealt with methods and principles of teaching, there was a much better standard of work although the answers were stereotyped and lacked imagination and initiative. He said that in practical teaching, the lessons were well prepared, the notes were carefully written and apparatus was used well. Generally, there was improvement although there was nothing outstanding and the level was one of mediocrity. However, there was great variety of apparatus of good quality showing careful thought. At the end of the year, 11 out of 15 students in the second year and 9 out of 13 students in the third year, passed their examinations. In concluding his report, Mr Farquhar urged the staff to impress upon the girls a sense of responsibility and to show them the need for constantly striving for the best. 'At present', he said, 'they seem to depend too much on the intellectual pabulum supplied, and their ability to regurgitate it whereas they should be assimilating knowledge, developing initiative, independence and logical thought'.¹²⁹

When Mr Farquhar visited Monte Cassino training school from 13th to 18th November, 1939 he said that on the professional side, the practical teaching in the first year of the new post- Standard 6 teacher training course, had improved. He said the four lessons he saw were good; the teaching technique well developed; black-board work and apparatus well thought out; lesson notes fairly good and the examination paper on school organisation fairly well done. The paper on teaching methods was also well done although the work was unimaginative and stereotyped. The school principles were fairly well grasped but as in other papers, faulty language clouded clarity of expression; it was apparent, however, from other aspects that teaching had been very thorough; the apparatus had been highly developed, was of good quality and deserving of high praise. In the third year, the blackboard work and lesson notes were good. The papers in school methods, principles and organisation were fairly well done; the apparatus was good and both students and teachers deserved much praise. On the whole, a good standard of teaching was maintained.¹³⁰ Judging by various inspection reports it is quite evident that in spite of some weaknesses, Monte Cassino contributed enormously to the training of African teachers during this period.

We noted in Chapter 5 that missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church opened a teacher training school at Morgenster in 1911. We noted that admission requirements to the training school included a certificate of good conduct from a missionary and a pass in Standard III and that the subjects taught in the training school included Bible

and Church History. According to Maravanyika, the emphasis in training was on character:

Students had to demonstrate that they were worthy of entrusting with the responsibility of leading an exemplary Christian life in their places of work when they graduated. Good character was seen as more important than academic or professional ability.¹³¹

In 1924, 61 pupils were enrolled at Morgenster teacher training school; of these, 19 were in the first year, 29 were in the second year and 13 were in the third year. According to the Inspector of Schools, Mr S. de Lenfestey, the entrance requirement to the training school was gradually improving but there was a long way to go before the school could be pronounced efficient.¹³² Because of this negative report, the missionaries at Morgenster made strenuous efforts to improve the quality of teacher training at the mission. The following number of student-teachers passed their examinations during this period: 35 out of 52 in 1928¹³³; 37 out of 42 in 1929¹³⁴; 47 out of 54 in 1930¹³⁵; 61 out of 81 in 1931¹³⁶; 79 out of 91 in 1933¹³⁷; 46 out of 57 in 1934¹³⁸; 60 out of 75 in 1935¹³⁹ and 106 out of 133 in 1937.¹⁴⁰

III

Christian Missions and Western Education in Manicaland, 1924 - 1939

In Manicaland, the Anglicans developed St Augustine's into a major educational institution. In 1926, 24 students were taking the teacher training course at the mission.¹⁴¹ The high standard of training given was reflected in the number of student-teachers who passed their examinations during this period: 18 out of 22 in 1928¹⁴²; 22 out of 24 in 1929¹⁴³; 20 out of 20 in 1930¹⁴⁴; 30 out of 33 in 1931¹⁴⁵; 27 out of 30 in 1933¹⁴⁶; 41 out of 43 in 1934¹⁴⁷ and 46 out of 46 in 1935.¹⁴⁸

In 1937 of the 78 students in the teacher training course at St Augustine's, 32 were in the first year, 23 were in the second year and 23 were in the third year.¹⁴⁹ At the end of the year 63 out of 78 students passed their examinations including 22 who completed the course and were eligible for certificates.¹⁵⁰ In 1938 a new, post - Standard VI two-year industrial course in tailoring, leatherwork, carpentry, building and printing, was introduced at the mission.¹⁵¹

The American Board Mission concentrated its educational work among the Ndau of South-Eastern Zimbabwe. 'This excellent Mission ...', the Phelps Stokes Commission of 1924 stated, 'probably maintains the highest standard of instruction of any mission in the Colony. In contrast with many other missions, it adheres to the principle of intensive and well-directed school activities'.¹⁵² This was particularly true of the two central mission stations at Mt. Selinda and Chikore.

When the Commission visited Mt. Selinda, there were 27 young women and 38 men in the teacher training course receiving theoretical and practical teacher training in addition to a good, all-round education. The Commission stated that manual training was excellent. Woodwork and agriculture were taken alternately; each of the 72 students at work took five hours of agriculture and five hours of wood work per week. Agriculture was conducted on a large scale with over 200 acres under cultivation. The pupils were given theoretical and practical instruction and each pupil had his own seed-bed and vegetable allotment.¹⁵³ Of Chikore, a member of the Commission wrote:

If Chikore is typical of other stations, then the Mission is fortunate indeed. A capable missionary and his equally capable wife look after the station school of 325 pupils, 13 out-schools with an enrolment of over 900 pupils and two night schools for shepherds and other boys who cannot attend in the day time. The work in the station was ... very good. There was a friendly atmosphere, good for both teachers and pupils. This friendliness ... is ... a reflection of the spirit which characterises the whole mission.¹⁵⁴

The teacher training department at Mt. Selinda produced fairly good results. The number of students who passed their teacher training examinations was as follows: 51 out of 73 in 1928¹⁵⁵; 50 out of 61 in 1929¹⁵⁶; 44 out of 54 in 1930¹⁵⁷; 56 out of 58 in 1931¹⁵⁸; 56 out of 61 in 1933¹⁵⁹; 54 out of 61 in 1934¹⁶⁰; 59 out of 67 in 1935¹⁶¹ and 84 out of 104 in 1937.¹⁶²

In 1937 in the industrial department at Mt. Selinda, the girls were taught pottery, laundry, sewing, fibre work and basketry under the leadership of Mrs S.F. Curtis.¹⁶³ The 241 boys enrolled in the industrial classes were studying basketry, woodwork, craft work, carpentry, building and leather work. Ten students in the two highest classes specialised as industrial teachers.¹⁶⁴

In January, 1939 the new, two-year post-Standard VI teacher training course at Mt. Selinda began with a class of 22 boys and girls.¹⁶⁵ During the year, the domestic

science courses at the mission included sewing, basketry and mat-making, laundry, housewifery, knitting, first aid, child care, agriculture and cooking; all domestic science classes met from 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. every day.¹⁶⁶ The industrial work for boys was divided into two sections: (a) construction and maintenance and (b) instructional work. The former included the construction of new buildings, the maintenance of existing buildings, the manufacture of bricks and tiles, forestry - including lumbering - saw milling, power plant, transport, stone quarrying, road repairing and the maintenance of electric light and power lines, telephones and water services; the latter included instruction in carpentry, building and metal work, tanning and shoe making. The instruction of pupils in carpentry, building and metal work was done by African teachers under the direction of a European supervisor.¹⁶⁷ A new post-Standard VI course in carpentry was also introduced at the beginning of the year.¹⁶⁸

At Chikore 60 girls were enrolled in the domestic science classes in 1939 under the direction of Mrs A. J. Orner and Mrs J. Dysart. Classes followed about the same plan as at Mt. Selinda. Girls studied basketry, sewing, knitting and laundry while the boys learned new methods of agriculture, woodwork and basketry.¹⁶⁹ Thus both Mt. Selinda and Chikore offered students a good, all-round academic and industrial training.

The American Methodists developed Old Umtali into a major educational institution. We shall examine the major educational developments at this institution from 1924 to 1939 in some detail.

In 1924 the educational work at Old Umtali was divided into five departments: Literary, Theological, Teacher-Training, Agriculture and Woodwork. In January, co-education between the Boys' Central Training School and the Fairfield Girls' School was begun at Old Umtali with the unanimous approval of all the Old Umtali missionaries; it was being tried out as an experiment for one school year. The combined enrolment at the mission stood at 360 pupils. The Literary Department, as in the past, played an invaluable role in the education which was being provided at the mission. According to the Principal, the Revd R.C. Gates, the chief contribution of the Literary Department was that it had helped the students directly and others indirectly to 'rise to the higher levels of life, and given intensive training to some in order that they might go back to their own people to teach and to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ'.¹⁷⁰ In the teacher training department, 22 pupils were enrolled of whom 8 were in Standard V and 14 in Standard IV.¹⁷¹ When the Phelps Stokes Commission visited Old Umtali during the year, it was very impressed with the agricultural training which was being carried out at the mission:

The teacher is a first-rate practical farmer who approaches this subject in a way that Natives can understand. The experimental plots where he illustrates the value of tillage, of the use of a fertiliser and of careful weeding, are really educative. Many of the pupils have made money by growing potatoes and onions. Useful lessons are given in animal husbandry. The crown of the agricultural work is seen in the Native village where, with a splendid irrigation scheme, the Natives have been taught to produce vegetables for market, with the result that all the market gardening in the town of Umtali is now in the hands of Natives. Numbers of Natives may be seen going into town late at night and early in the morning carrying their produce. The mission has helped the Natives to help themselves.¹⁷²

After he visited Old Umtali on 17th and 18th December, 1924 the Inspector of Schools, Mr J. Condy, said the school as a whole, was well organised and conducted; the student - teachers had been well taught during the year and the professional side of their training had been duly emphasised. He was, however, critical of the efforts made by Mr G.A. Roberts in the teaching of animal husbandry and agriculture. 'I regret to say', he stated, 'that this department of the Mission's activities is far from being in a satisfactory condition this year; I cannot in consequence recommend the payment of the usual Government subsidy. I readily accept the statement of Mr Roberts that class lectures are given regularly as usual. Unless, however, the practical side of the work keeps pace with the theoretical side, the latter becomes useless if not positively harmful'. He conceded, however, that when Mr Roberts was solely responsible for this department, he had conducted it efficiently. Unfortunately, he had been assigned additional duties during the year; he was appointed Superintendent of the mission; in addition, he was expected to visit a number of out-stations. He said those responsible for imposing these additional burdens on Mr Roberts could not surely believe that he would be equal to the task. 'The immediate result of giving him so much to do', he said, 'has been to reduce the general efficiency of the whole institution to a very low level indeed'. He condemned in the strongest terms the woodwork training conducted by Mr F.G. Mauger. He said Mr Mauger's work 'is the worst attempt at teaching woodwork that I have seen anywhere at any time. I cannot recommend that any grant be held in connection with this class for the current year. Mr Mauger was unable to produce a syllabus and he admitted that he had not followed one. The woodwork room and the general appointments are a disgrace to the Mission. After discussing woodwork with Mr Mauger and having seen his efforts at teaching it, I have come to the conclusion that he ought to be required to furnish further evidence of his ability to teach the subject.'¹⁷³ In reply, Mr Mauger conceded that the woodwork room at Old Umtali was not entirely suitable for the work but he did not

believe that Mr Condry's criticism was completely justified. 'To an outsider who neither knows nor tries to find out the actual conditions under which our work is carried on', he said, 'this may be a natural criticism. However, if this statement is made by one who really knows our work, the things that we do with the funds that are available, and the sacrificing that was necessary to make even this woodwork room possible, it is not only unjust but belittles the great work in which we are engaged'.¹⁷⁴

During the first half of 1925, a total of 378 students were enrolled in the Literary Department at Old Umtali. In the Teacher training Department, of the 29 student-teachers enrolled, 19 were in Standard IV, 7 were in Standard V and 3 were in Standard VI.¹⁷⁵ By the end of the year, the enrolment in the Literary Department increased to 385 students of whom 179 were boys and men and 206 were girls and women. The subjects taught included the Bible, Arithmetic, Reading, Writing, Spelling, Dictation, Composition, English, Chimanyika, Hygiene, Physical Exercises, Music, History and Geography. The Literary Department consisted of four distinct branches: the Main School, the Teacher Training Department, the Married Women's School and the Night School; the teaching staff consisted of five missionaries, seven hired African teachers and six pupil-teachers in the Practising School. The classes in the Main School ranged from the beginners up to and including Standard VI.

The Teacher Training Department consisted of 30 pupils in Standard IV, V and VI. In the morning these student-teachers were instructed in the theory of teaching and in the afternoon, they taught in the Practising School, taking their turn according to a regular schedule. The Location School for married women had an enrolment of 49. The academic work was taught by an African teacher while Mrs Gates taught sewing and cleanliness.

In the Night School, 43 boys were enrolled. These were mostly beginners who were working on the mission farm to earn their entrance fee; they were taught by two African teachers. The installation of electric lights had made a noticeable improvement in the quality of the night school work. The co-education scheme introduced in January, 1924 had worked successfully and had resulted in a stronger faculty and a unified co-operation in the interest of the mission. The missionaries felt justified by the results in continuing the co-education scheme. 'We recognise', Mr Gates stated, 'that the school is not an end in itself, but that it is the means for physical, mental, and spiritual development, and for happy and useful living. Throughout the year emphasis has been placed upon promptness, neatness, cleanliness, courtesy, alertness, quickness, industry and thoroughness. Daily instruction is given in Bible

in all grades. As Old Umtali is the training school for pastor-teachers, we have tried to develop and promote a spiritual atmosphere in all activities of the school. Our chief aim has been to develop the highest Christian character.¹⁷⁶ When Mr Condry visited Old Umtali from 8th to 9th December, 1925 he said that in the scholastic department, Mr Gates and his colleagues had done excellent work during the year. After examining classes from Standard III to Standard VI, he said the results were entirely satisfactory. He gave the students in the Teacher Training classes a variety of subjects for English Composition and said that the best compositions demonstrated a high standard of English and knowledge of the subject chosen; even the weakest compositions showed careful training on the part of the teachers and co-education had been an unqualified success. He said in woodwork, Mr Mauger had worked very hard during the year; the teaching had been on sound lines and the pupils had made good progress. The conditions under which Mr Mauger worked, however, were still very primitive. However, the foundations of a new woodwork block had been laid. He said in animal husbandry and agriculture, renewed efforts had been made during the year to make this department more efficient; the theoretical work was, whenever possible, backed up by practical experience.

With a view to improving the herd of cattle, the mission had bought three Sussex bulls from a neighbouring farmer. The mission had also taken up tree planting seriously during the year. Mr Condry paid tribute to the excellent work of the European lady teachers on the staff: "They are indefatigable in everything that concerns the social and the moral welfare of the natives on and in the neighbourhood of the Mission".¹⁷⁷

In 1926, 26 students were enrolled in the teacher training course at Old Umtali of whom 15 were in Standard IV, 6 were in Standard V, 2 were in Standard VI and 3 were in Standard VII. When Mr Condry visited the mission from 25th to 26th November, he said the teacher training class maintained its usual high standard of efficiency. The small numbers in these classes were disappointing; they were, however, indicative of the general advancement of the Mission. The time given to purely scholastic work was about five hours a day; this, he said, was too much and suggested that an hour should be taken from the scholastic work and added to practical work such as woodwork, building and problems which the students were likely to confront when they went out to take charge of schools. He examined all classes from Standard IV to VI and some of those below individually. He said the compositions were particularly good and the manner in which the pupils wrote English on a variety of subjects, was highly commendable. He said that Arithmetic and spelling were fairly good; Geography and History of a simple nature had been introduced with satisfactory results. In agriculture and animal husbandry, good training in theory was being given; the large variety of crops grown as well as the

vegetable gardens offered a varied field for both practice and experiment. The cattle, however, were still inferior to those of many missions where there was no formal teaching of animal husbandry.

To remedy this, Mr Roberts secured a pure-bred Friesland bull calf and a Persian ram in order that in time both cattle and sheep would improve in quality. He said that in woodwork, Mr Mauger was conducting his classes in a capable manner. The number of specimens was limited but those that he saw indicated that the principles of the subject were being developed on sound lines. The woodwork building, the foundations of which were being laid the previous year, had not yet been completed; the brickwork was not even finished. Mr Mauger therefore was still working under difficulties as regards accommodation.¹⁷⁸ In spite of these difficulties, Mr Mauger carried out industrial training in a satisfactory manner. The teaching of building had been entirely practical.

The building class had completed four small location houses, the foundations of the Assembly Hall and the new shop and had re-roofed several buildings. In the woodwork shop, the students had made a great variety of articles including a book-rack, blackboards, door and window frames, tables, candlesticks and coathangers. In addition, Mr Mauger taught students technical drawing with encouraging results.¹⁷⁹ In his report to the Conference held from 4th to 9th November, 1926 at Nyadiri mission, the Superintendent of Old Umtali, Mr G.A. Roberts, said each item of work carried on at Old Umtali had been done with the idea of maintaining a well-rounded institution.

The co-education plan for the school, he said, had been very satisfactory. 'Discipline', he added, 'does not seem as difficult as it was in the days past when we tried to keep the two schools entirely separate, while the competition of boys and girls together in classes seems to add desire for all to go forward'. Although there were only 3 students in Standard VII, it established a new mark for the students to attain.

As evidence of the high regard in which the school was held, applications were being received from far and near for places in the school. Mrs R.C. Gates had piloted the schools for the women and small children at the Location. With Amos Kapenzi as assistant teacher, the work had gone forward. Their industrial classes had been planned to make the women more efficient in planning, cutting out clothes and sewing for their children, their husbands and themselves. The agricultural work was carried on as usual with a few changes and improvements. Mr Roberts said that the hard thing about teaching agriculture was that there was no suitable textbook for the

classes. Nevertheless, the work was successful: 'It would be hard to conceive any backward people making more rapid advance in any line than our people have made agriculturally. Seventeen years ago the first native man in this part of the territory purchased a plough and now there are hundreds of ploughs'.¹⁸⁰

In 1928, 418 pupils were enrolled at Old Umtali including 170 in the afternoon Practising School and 45 in the evening school. In the Hartzell Teacher Training School, 55 students were enrolled of whom 33 were in Standard IV, 14 were in Standard V and 8 were in Standard VI. On the departure of Mr R.C. Gates on furlough in January, Miss Benson took charge of the Literary and Normal Training Departments and did very efficient work; she was assisted by a very loyal and efficient corps of teachers.¹⁸¹ At the end of the year, of the 53 student-teachers who wrote their examinations, 34 passed.¹⁸²

In 1929, 37 students were enrolled in the teacher training course at Old Umtali.¹⁸³ At the end of the year, of the 31 students who wrote their teacher training examinations, 27 passed.¹⁸⁴

In 1930 the enrolment of students in the teacher training course at Old Umtali increased to 50. The coming of Mr Elliot Sukuma added to the effectiveness of the industrial department. Since Mr Mauger left on 1st February, Mr Taylor carried on the supervision and direction of the industrial department in addition to the work of the Agriculture Department. Mrs Gates and Miss Hansson conducted community work at the Location after the departure of Mrs Mauger. They trained 48 women in various types of work. Mrs Murphree taught music in the teacher training school and supervised music instruction throughout the school.¹⁸⁵ At the end of the year, of the 47 student-teachers who wrote their examinations, 34 passed including 5 who completed the course and were available for deployment.¹⁸⁶ In 1931, 84 students were enrolled in the teacher training course at Old Umtali. According to the Revd R.C. Gates, the work of the teacher training department under Mrs Taylor and the Revd David Mbambo had been thorough and effective.¹⁸⁷ At the end of the year, of the 75 students who wrote their teacher training examinations, 61 passed including 8 who completed the course and were available for deployment.¹⁸⁸

In 1932 Mr R. F. Wagner of the Agriculture Department at Old Umtali emphasised the need to intensify agricultural training at the mission. He said the teaching of better methods of agriculture was crucial to the success of the mission's educational program. 'The native population', he said, 'is still more than 90 per cent agricultural. Any single improvement toward better methods in native tillage will react directly

on this great mass of the people. The number affected through an improvement along this line will be far in excess of those touched by any improvement we might make in other lines of educational endeavour ...' Accordingly, experimental gardens were maintained along with systematic classroom teaching of Farm Crops and Soils; vegetable gardens continued to supply vegetables for the boarding department as part of the instruction in Elementary Agriculture to the lower Standards; animal husbandry and dairying were taught regularly and since January, a course specially for men who were going out to teach, was given in the Methods and Practice of Teaching Agriculture in Village Schools.

The carpentry department suffered from lack of close European supervision; nevertheless, the students did creditable carpentry work under the leadership of the Revd Elliot Sukuma. In addition to the routine class work, the students made tables and other needed equipment for the new school building.¹⁸⁹

In 1933 this type of industrial training was continued at Old Umtali. Standard Six pupils were taught blacksmithing, leatherwork and building. The teaching of the fundamentals of agriculture and animal husbandry was given more hours in the mission's program than in the past. Practical work with animals, fowls and in the dairy was part of the training. Practice teaching in gardening was done by all male pupils of the Hartzell Training School.¹⁹⁰

In 1934 there were some adjustments in the Hartzell Training School at Old Umtali partly due to the departure of the Revd David Mbambo and the transfer of Josiah Chimbadzwa to the Church work. They were, however, replaced by two senior ministers, Clifford Faku and Reginald Nkonyama. During the year, Mr Wagner made a special effort to improve the work in the Agriculture Department. 'The work of teaching agriculture at Old Umtali', he wrote, 'has been put on a new plane through the adoption of the new plan of having the students grow a full rotation of crops on their own plots'. He added, however, that while the boys showed enthusiasm and initiative, it was difficult for the married men to enter as wholeheartedly into the co-operative plan of cropping as the boys, but considering the newness of the plan, the results fully warranted a change from the old plan.¹⁹¹

The completion of new dormitories at the beginning of 1936 made possible an increase in the enrolment of boarding pupils in the Hartzell Training School at Old Umtali. Of the total enrolment of 609 pupils during the year, 52 were in Standard V, 27 were in Standard VI and 13 were in Standard VII. In the teacher training department, 90 students were enrolled.¹⁹²

In 1937, 47 students were enrolled in the teacher training course at Old Umtali. As part of their training, the pupil-teachers were sent out in pairs to the village schools to teach for one week. According to the Head of the teacher training department, Mrs Taylor, the Revd David Nduna who had successfully acted as Head Teacher of the Model Kraal School at the mission for three years, proved to be a very capable supervisor for the pupil-teachers while they were out on teaching practice. He reported that the teaching practice was good for the pupil-teachers because they practised teaching in schools similar to the schools where they would eventually teach; it was good for the regular teachers of those schools because it gave them an opportunity to observe some of the newer methods of teaching.¹⁹³ At the end of the year, of the 46 students who sat for their teacher training examinations, 37 passed including 16 who completed the course and were eligible for certificates.¹⁹⁴ These graduates went to teach and were reported to be doing splendid work.¹⁹⁵

In 1939, 11 pupils were enrolled in the new two-year post-Standard Six teacher training course at Old Umtali. The academic subjects included Principles of Education, Teaching Methods and School Organisation while the teaching practice included the teaching of agricultural, industrial as well as the usual academic subjects. The students spent one week in the village schools from which they returned with 'high enthusiasm for the work, all regretting that the time had been so short'.¹⁹⁶ Old Umtali thus became a comprehensive educational institution offering academic, industrial and teacher training to its students.

IV

Government, Missions and African Education, 1924 - 1939

Thus far, we have examined the missionaries' contribution to African education in Zimbabwe from 1924 to 1939 with respect to primary education and teacher training. In this section, we shall consider the role of Government and missions in African education from 1924 to 1939. We shall specifically consider the following: (1) the establishment of the Department of Native Education to control African education; (2) the educational reforms of 1929 and their impact on African education; (3) the role of Government in normal training of African teachers; (4) the role of Government in subsidiary training of African teachers and (5) the introduction of African Secondary education.

(1) *The Establishment of the Department of Native Education*

Before 1924 African education in Southern Rhodesia was controlled partly by the Education Department and partly by the Native Department, the two departments working independently. Consequently, there was confusion in the public mind over which government department was ultimately responsible for African education. The Hadfield Commission which was appointed by the Government in 1924 to enquire into all aspects of African education in the Colony and whose report was published in 1925, stated that witnesses were unanimous that unity of control of African education was desirable; they were, however, divided on which department should exercise control; the large majority of witnesses was of the view that it should be the Education Department while many witnesses suggested the creation of a special sub-department for Native Education. Some witnesses favoured the Native Department, others a sub-department of the Native Department; a few favoured a separate department altogether. The Commission was of the opinion that 'for the present Native education should be controlled wholly, as it already is in the main, by the Education Department, through a special sub-department' and recommended the setting up of a separate Department of Native Education. 'The aim', it stated, 'is a department administratively independent and yet able to secure the co-operation of other departments, Education, Native, Medical and Agriculture, without whose assistance the best results cannot be expected'.¹⁹⁷ The Commission recommended the termination of the prevailing system of dual control as speedily as possible.¹⁹⁸

When the appointment of the Hadfield Commission was announced, the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference of 1924 urged the Government to appoint an Advisory Board for Native Education on which the Missionary Conference should be represented.¹⁹⁹ In its report, the Commission said that an Advisory Board for Native Education would serve a very useful purpose and recommended the establishment of an Advisory Board of 9 members who should meet at least once a year, preferably after the Missionary Conference which would be asked to nominate 3 representatives. The Commission recommended the following as members of the Advisory Board: 3 nominees of the Missionary Conference, the Director of Education or his representative, the Medical Director or his representative, a representative of the Agricultural Department and two members of the general public to be nominated by the Governor.²⁰⁰

At the Missionary Conference of 1928 the Revd Neville Jones of the London Missionary Society complained that in spite of the recommendation of the Hadfield Commission, the Government had still not appointed an Advisory Board for Native

Education despite the fact that the Missionary Conference had been pressing for it during the previous seven years. The Conference deeply regretted that the Government had as yet taken no steps to appoint the Board and urged the Government to appoint the Board as soon as possible. Mr Jones suggested an increase in the number of missionary representatives from three recommended by the Hadfield Commission to five.²⁰¹ The Advisory Board for Native Education was appointed in 1930. The number of missionary representatives was increased from three to five as suggested by the Revd Neville Jones at the Missionary Conference of 1928. The following five missionary representatives were appointed to the Board: the Anglican Bishop of Southern Rhodesia; the Revd Neville Jones; the Wesleyan missionary, the Revd Frank Noble; the Dutch Reformed Church missionary, the Revd H. W. Murray and the Wesleyan missionary, the Revd John White.²⁰²

Meanwhile, the Government and the missionaries proceeded to wrestle with other pressing problems affecting African education. One of these problems was the supervision of third class schools which formed the bulk of mission schools. Officers of the Native Department were of the opinion that third - class schools were insufficiently supervised.²⁰³ As a result, the Director of Education required that a third - class school should be supervised through visits from the European mission superintendent at least four times a year.²⁰⁴ At the Missionary Conference of 1924 the Wesleyan Missionary, the Revd L. P. Hardaker, conceded that because of the enormity of the task, missionaries had not been able to supervise third-class schools adequately and urged that whenever competent African supervisors became available, the Government should allow missionaries to delegate their authority to some of these men. He suggested that the Education Department should compile a register of competent Africans to do such work. He added that in the opinion of the Conference, an African holding a full Native Teacher's Certificate from the Union of South Africa or its equivalent, should be regarded as competent. The Revd C. E. Greenfield seconded the motion and the resolution was carried unanimously. The Director of Education, Mr L. M. Foggin, said that Mr Hardaker's suggestion was a very valuable one.²⁰⁵

The Hadfield Commission conceded that in point of fact, third-class schools had so increased in numbers and covered so extended an area that efficient supervision by the European superintendent had become impossible and that visits of four times a year were certainly in some cases all but a physical impossibility. This being so, the Commission recommended firstly, a transport allowance of £30 per year to missionary superintendents as a tentative measure; secondly, the approval of selected African ministers and catechists of 'reasonable educational attainments and proved

character' to supervise schools with the distinct understanding that such supervision would be supplementary to and in no case substitutive of European supervision.²⁰⁶

In 1927 the Government established the Department of Native Education as recommended by the Hadfield Commission report of 1925. The new Department consisted of the Director, Mr Harold Jowitt; four inspectors of schools - J. H. Farquhar (Salisbury Circuit); W. H. Seaton (Umtali Circuit); A. R. Mather (Fort Victoria Circuit) and H. C. Finkle (Bulawayo Circuit). An Organising Instructress of Domestic Science, Miss M. Waters, was also appointed. According to Jowitt, these appointments including a clerical staff was 'clearly indicative of a very definite purpose behind Government policy'; the fact that the inspectorate and the office staff would be materially increased within the first twelve months, 'added to the assurance that the Government was determined that the venture should not suffer from lack of adequate initial support'.²⁰⁷

The Missionary conference of 1928 welcomed the establishment of the new Department of Native Education. The Revd Neville Jones of the London Missionary Society, praised the Director, Mr Jowitt, whose reputation for efficiency, he said, had preceeded him, and with whom the missionaries looked forward to a close co-operation. Mr Jones placed the following resolution before the Conference:

That this Conference records, with grateful appreciation, the formation of a Department of Native Education, and welcomes its first Director, Mr H. Jowitt, and his inspectors, to whom it extends its best wishes for the fullest success of their work and assures them of its readiness to co-operate with them when and wherever possible.²⁰⁸

Although the Government inaugurated the Department of Native Education in 1927, the new Department headed by Mr Harold Jowitt, was not formally established until the passing of the Native Development Act of 31st May, 1929. The new Department was charged with 'the performance of all work necessary and incidental to the control of native development by the Government of the Colony', including the appointment of inspectors of schools and other officers to assist the Director, the establishment of schools, the fixing of fees payable by the pupils, the classification of schools into various grades, the discipline and management of schools and the award of loans and grants.²⁰⁹

(2) *The Educational Reforms of 15th November, 1929*

In order to tighten its control over African education, the Government issued a series of regulations under Government Notice No. 676 of 15th November, 1929.

The new regulations divided schools into six classes: Class I - Teacher Training Schools; Class II - Boarding Schools; Class III - Central Day Schools; Class IV - Kraal Schools; Class V - Evening Schools and Class VI - Special Schools.²¹⁰ We shall consider the regulations governing these classes of schools in some detail.

With respect to teacher training schools, the new regulations fixed the age of candidates for admission at between 16 and 25 years except in special cases approved by the Director; candidates for admission were required to have passed Standard III. The school hours, inclusive of the hours devoted to industrial work and exclusive of preparation, were fixed at at least five hours per day. The period of training was fixed at three years of 180 school days each during which the students would undergo systematic training in the theory and practice of teaching in industrial and literary work. Departmental examinations would be held at the end of each year and except in special cases approved by the Director, no candidate was to be admitted to any year of the course until he had passed the qualifying examination. Candidates who successfully completed the third year of the course would become eligible for the provisional teaching certificate but such a certificate would not be issued until the expiration of twelve months' satisfactory service, duly attested by the inspector who would subsequently endorse the certificate at suitable intervals. Each training school was required to have one or more practising schools attached to or within easy reach of the training school in which the student-teachers would do practical teaching under the supervision of trained instructors; one of these practising schools should reflect the conditions of a typical kraal school. Each training school was required to have an approved full-time European head teacher, with such approved European or African staff as might be required. The teachers should possess recognised certificates for the specialised training they undertook. Each training school was also required to provide suitable accommodation, equipment, sanitary facilities, artificial lighting, water supply and diet and the inspectors were required to report upon such provision.²¹¹

The new regulations fixed the amount of grants to be awarded to training schools and stated that no grant would be paid to a training school unless its staff had been approved by the Director and unless it had an average attendance of at least 10 students. In organisation, teaching methods and general procedure, each practising

school was required to function as an integral part of the training school to which it was attached. Approval of the number of students per teacher or the nature and amount of work done per teacher would, for grant purposes, lie with the Director. Furthermore, no grant would be earned by any student who, having failed in two successive years, was permitted to enrol in the same class for the third year. The Government could reduce the amount of grant to any training school if the Director had reason to be dissatisfied with the work, equipment or the general conduct of the school.²¹²

In boarding schools, the new regulations fixed the school hours inclusive of the hours devoted to industrial work and exclusive of preparation at at least five hours a day; industrial work of 'an approved nature' was required to be systematically taught for at least two hours a day during the school year. The school year was fixed at 180 days. Under the new regulations, the Director reserved the right to approve the establishment of any boarding school or to withhold approval for the establishment of any boarding school for which no adequate provision was made. Each boarding school was required to have a full-time European head teacher with such approved European or African assistants as might be required. The new regulations fixed the amount of grants to be awarded to boarding schools in respect of teachers' salaries, necessary permanent equipment for industrial classes and approved school equipment such as ordinary school books, stationery, school furniture and other requisites approved by the Director. No grant would be paid in respect of boarding schools in which the average attendance fell below 16. Under these regulations, the Government could reduce the amount of grant to any boarding school if the Director had reason to be dissatisfied with the work, equipment or the general conduct of the school.²¹³

In Central Day Schools, the new regulations fixed the school hours exclusive of the hours devoted to industrial work at at least three hours per day and the school year at 180 days. An approved European head teacher together with approved European or African teachers were required to give actual instruction for at least 10 hours per week. The new regulations fixed the amount of grants to be awarded to Central Day Schools in respect of: each pupil in average daily attendance, industrial training, each girl taking domestic training, the qualifications of approved African teachers who had taught for a full school year in aided schools of any one mission, the necessary permanent industrial equipment and approved school equipment such as ordinary school books, stationery, school furniture and other requisites approved by the Director. Further, no grant would be paid in respect of any Central Day School in which the average daily attendance fell below 10. The Government could reduce the amount of grant if the Director had reason to be dissatisfied with the work, equipment or the general conduct of the school.²¹⁴

In Kraal Schools, the new regulations fixed the school hours, inclusive of the hours devoted to industrial work at at least three hours daily. To suit local circumstances, however, a missionary superintendent could arrange through the inspector for a re-distribution of the 15 - hour week so that, if desirable, the students could do industrial work on certain days and not on others, leading to some school days being longer than others. The school year was fixed at 180 days with a staff consisting of approved full-time African teachers.

The control and regular supervision of Kraal Schools devolved upon European superintendents approved by the Director who would take into consideration other duties devolving upon such superintendents. In exceptional cases, however, where the remoteness and inaccessibility of the country or other adverse circumstances appeared to justify special consideration, the Government could approve for grant purposes, of a number of specified visits by approved African deputy superintendents, whose character, record and qualifications were deemed fully satisfactory for the work of this nature provided that approval had been secured before the visits had been made. The new regulations fixed the amount of grant in respect of: each pupil in average daily attendance, approved African teachers who had taught for the full school year in aided schools of any one mission, approved equipment such as ordinary school books, stationery, school furniture and other requisites approved by the Director. Furthermore, no grant would be paid in respect of any kraal school in which the average daily attendance fell below 10. Under these regulations, the Government could reduce the amount of grant if the Director had reason to be dissatisfied with the work, equipment or the general conduct of the school.²¹⁵

With respect to evening schools, the new regulations fixed the school hours at at least one hour an evening exclusive of opening exercises and registration, and at at least four evenings per week and the school year at 180 days with a staff consisting of approved European or African teachers. The new regulations also fixed the amount of grant for each pupil in average daily attendance. Finally, no pupil entering the school 20 minutes after the session had opened, would be marked as present during the session.²¹⁶

With respect to special schools such as the Chibi School for the Blind, the new regulations stated that subject to finances being available, the Government could approve of grants-in-aid for special schools or special classes which were designed to meet particular needs. In each case, the Director had to satisfy himself that: the course offered was necessary, suitable and effective; the accommodation and equipment provided were satisfactory; the number in average daily attendance was

adequate; the staff was qualified to undertake the work and the duration of the course was sufficient.²¹⁷

Clearly, the new regulations invested enormous powers in the Government to control African education. According to Atkinson, although much further re-organisation remained to be done, the reforms of 1929 inaugurated a new era of effective government control of African education in Southern Rhodesia:

In place of an unrealistic, and frequently ineffective, system of awarding grants-in-aid, which had discouraged initiative, and kept standards low, it was possible for government officials to assess contributions in relation to real educational and social needs. In place of essentially haphazard arrangements for inspection and supervision, which asked for little more than a bare observance of the requirements for the curriculum, attention was to be paid to almost every aspect of the work of the school.²¹⁸

The Government proceeded to use its enormous powers under the new regulations to tighten its control over African education. At the Missionary Conference of 1930, the missionaries asked Jowitt whether it was necessary to seek Government authorisation before opening unaided schools. After quoting from Ordinance 7 of 1912 Jowitt said that all schools whether aided or not, had to be registered with his Department. Although one section of the Ordinance allowed missionaries a three-month grace period before registering unaided schools, Jowitt pointed out that his Department had the right to close such schools or to close any school if it was not satisfied that such a school was meeting the various conditions in the Ordinance. Many missionaries were dissatisfied at not being allowed to open unaided schools which, though inefficient from an educational point of view, served 'a most useful purpose in the propagation of the Gospel'. Jowitt stated that if such schools were regarded as inefficient, it would be necessary for his Department, after due warning, to close them. When the President of the Conference (the Revd A. A. Louw, Snr.) asked for a compromise, Jowitt replied that he was prepared to adopt a generous interpretation of the requirements in cases where it could be shown that such inefficient schools were not weakening other schools, and that there was some hope that such schools would become efficient in the future. The Revd H. W. Murray who had moved a resolution requesting the Government to authorise all schools, whether aided or not, in the interests of propagating the Gospel, thereupon withdrew his motion.²¹⁹

In 1932 the Government reduced grants to Kraal Schools by 15%. The missionaries were naturally alarmed at this development. At the Missionary Conference of that year, the Wesleyan missionary, the Revd Percy Ibbotson, said that the 15% cut in government grants could lead to the closure of many kraal schools and that the hands of the missionaries had been tied by the lack of money with which to carry on their work. Jowitt pointed out that the reduction in grants had been due to many causes and not necessarily to government cuts and said that the decrease in average attendance had been largely responsible for a proportionate decrease in government grants. He assured the Conference that his Department would make representations for increased grants as soon as circumstances improved. The Government also limited the time devoted to religious instruction in mission schools to 30 minutes per day. Jowitt said the Government had limited the time devoted to religious instruction in mission schools to 30 minutes per day because it had included it in the time-table. If not included, any time could be devoted to it, but if included, it had obviously to be limited. He added that the Government had no intention of prescribing the nature of religious instruction given in schools.²²⁰

From 1931 to 1933 there was a steady and most marked decrease in the number of aided Kraal Schools, the corresponding figures being 91 in 1931, 140 in 1932 and 69 in 1933 or a total of 300 schools in three years. This was partly due to the consolidation of existing schools and the closing down of what were generally regarded as inefficient schools and partly due to the depletion of missionaries' revenues which Ibbotson had complained of at the Missionary Conference of 1932. Although an apostle of efficiency, Jowitt regretted the closure of these 300 Kraal Schools:

To the casual onlooker the tendency is to say that the matter is of little moment, since these schools were lacking in efficiency and in practical results, and hence that their disappearance is educationally irrelevant. Against this, however, it should be remembered that efficiency is a relative term; that it is never an end in itself, and that even in the most rudimentary village school there can issue results of enduring value, which do not appear when 'practical results' are assessed. Certain it is that by closing down 300 Kraal Schools in the last three years, child life in as many centres has definitely suffered, nor can the injury be repaired by any simple expedient.²²¹

This situation, as we have seen, prompted Jowitt to assure the Missionary Conference of 1932 that his Department would make representations for increased grants as soon as circumstances improved.

At the Missionary Conference of 1934 the missionaries asked Jowitt whether the Government would approve the appointment of teachers with qualifications below Standard 3 after 1934. Jowitt replied that after 1934 the Government would not approve *new* appointments of teachers to Kraal Schools until the teacher held a Vernacular Certificate but teachers with lesser qualifications, already approved, would, for the most part, continue to be approved unless they proved to be unsatisfactory. He added that the Government proposed from the beginning of 1937 to dispense with the services of all teachers with qualifications lower than the Vernacular Certificate and urged all suitable candidates who could do so, to obtain this minimum qualification as soon as possible.²²²

Early in 1934 the Government introduced a new quota system with respect to the payment of grants to mission schools. The introduction of the new quota system formed the subject of a heated discussion at the Missionary Conference held in June, 1934. The Conference proposed to make the strongest representations to the Government through the Prime Minister and Minister of Native Affairs strongly objecting to the introduction of the quota system and stated further that while not opposed in principle to the introduction of the quota system, it deplored the cavalier manner in which the Government had introduced the quota system without consulting the representatives of the Missionary Conference. The Conference suggested that any financial estimates of grants to mission schools should be made on the basis of the previous year's grants plus a reasonable percentage for extension and development; this principle had already been recommended by the Native Education Advisory Board.²²³ When the Government did not respond, the missionaries let the matter rest for the time being.

Although the missionaries were clearly unhappy with the manner in which the Government had introduced the quota system, the Missionary Conference of 1934 paid a warm tribute to the work of the Department of Native Development under Jowitt's leadership. The Conference stated firstly, that since the establishment of the Department, 'to the great advantage of all concerned', the relationship between the Government and Missions had been established on a satisfactory and intimate basis; not only had the official association been improved and strengthened, but also the close contact between the Department's Inspectors and Missionary workers had led to mutual counsel and co-operation which had been invaluable to the whole system of African education.

The Conference said that the Government had acted 'most wisely' in establishing a separate Department of Native Development. Secondly, the work of the Department

had been in general, such as to merit the highest appreciation of the Missionary bodies. It had not only transformed the African educational system; it had initiated a policy of development in the Native Reserves which the missionaries were convinced, was of the utmost value not only to the African people but to the Colony as a whole. The Conference said that tremendous progress had been made in agricultural, industrial and community work and was satisfied that without the inspiration and guidance of the Native Development Department, this actual and potential result would not have been possible. Thirdly, the Department should continue its special activities under the direction of the Minister of Native Affairs. The Conference appealed to the Prime Minister and Minister of Native Affairs to secure the continuance of the Department.

The Conference also stated that the success of African development during the previous six years, was largely due to the ability, energy and foresight of Mr Jowitt who had won and retained the 'complete confidence' of the Missionary bodies. It expressed its earnest hope that Mr Jowitt would continue to serve the Colony in this capacity for many years to come. Mr Jowitt who was present, was 'deeply touched' by the resolution and warmly expressed his appreciation on behalf of himself and his whole Department for this tribute to their efforts.²²⁴

(3) *The Role of Government in Normal Training of African Teachers, 1928 - 1934*

Reference has already been made to the training of African teachers at various mission schools. We shall now assess the impact of the teacher training provided in mission schools.

According to Jowitt, professional teacher training in the commonly accepted meaning of that term, hardly existed in Southern Rhodesia before 1928. For example, when an inspector visited one 'training school' at the beginning of 1928 he found that the amount of time devoted to professional subjects in a 45 - hour week, was half an hour. On a proportionate basis this meant that out of 180 school days, exactly two were devoted to professional subjects; yet this centre was a fully-accredited teacher training centre, drawing full teacher-training grants and sending out 'trained teachers' and drawing as a result of that training, special qualification grants. In some training schools, there had previously been no Departmental examinations of professional subjects on the assumption that any students enrolled in Standards IV, V or VI were *ipso facto* receiving teacher training.²²⁵

In order to gather as much information as possible on 11 teacher training centres, the Department of Native Development drafted and circulated a questionnaire to the training schools concerned and the following data, *inter alia*, emerged: engaged in the training of teachers were at least 8 untrained European teachers and at least 12 untrained African teachers; although the Government code stipulated that only students who had passed Standards IV, V and VI would qualify for teacher training, in 1927 the mission schools were training 43 African teachers who had passed Standard I, 72 who had passed Standard II, 79 who had passed Standard III, making a total of 194 below code requirements; out of 11 teacher training schools, only 4 were teaching blackboard work and at no training centre was it being taught for more than half an hour per week; the average amount of time given per week to the theory of teaching, organisation and related subjects, was in all three - quarters of an hour; the industrial work varied from 2 hours to 30 hours per week; 'preparation' varied from one and half hours to 20 hours and 'teaching practice' ranged from 2 weeks to 44 weeks per year. Jowitt said it was obvious from the above that no uniformity of concept nor of values existed in teacher training and hence true training of professional value was rarely given. He cited the report of one inspector who, after visiting several training centres in 1928, stated *inter alia*, that: teacher training for the most part, had largely been a name and the establishment of training centres had been regarded as a sign of progress whereas the character of the training had been poor; examinations had been conducted internally resulting in a lack of thoroughness and uniformity; at most centres, little attention was paid to teaching practice, there was no demonstration or criticism work and no practice in the use of the blackboard; although teacher-training was teaching teachers to teach, the staff at these training centres was deficient in trained teachers; the increase in the number of teachers-in-training had not been commensurate with the expansion of third-class or kraal schools, particularly in the case of the Dutch Reformed Church.

The Salvation Army was in a worse state; the authorities concerned were fully aware of the situation and were making every effort to cope with it. The Roman Catholic Church was in much the same position; the authorities concerned, however, were making drastic changes in policy that augured well for the future of their work. Finally, too many missionaries had insisted upon character rather than upon character plus efficiency and had accused the Department of Native Development of being bent on securing efficiency minus character - a sheer fallacy.²²⁶ The inspector cited by Jowitt clearly over-stated the case when he said that the training offered at most teacher training schools had merely been a name. As we saw earlier, most inspectors spoke very highly of the teacher training offered at mission schools in their areas of jurisdiction. Nevertheless, it was clear that the quality of teacher training offered at various mission schools needed improvement.

Accordingly, in 1928 the Department of Native Development made a concerted effort to vitalise teacher training through frequent inspections, the giving of demonstration work, attendance at vacation courses, assistance in re-organisation, and a full individual examination in professional subjects at the end of the year when academic and industrial work were also evaluated. This was accompanied by a ruling of the Department that true teacher training would be allowed only for students who had passed Standards IV to VI and by the re-organisation of the practising school attached to each teacher training school.²²⁷

In 1929, according to Jowitt, it became increasingly obvious that the need to improve the quality of teacher training had been accepted by missionary bodies who, as a result of contacts in the previous year, had readily accepted higher standards of training. Re-adjustments followed in training school after training school. This was evident in staff appointments, building re-construction, the development of vitalised practising schools, the employment of more accepted methods, the emphasis placed upon the professional subjects and the results obtained in the Departmental examinations at the end of the year.²²⁸

In 1930 this steady progress was maintained. An analysis of the teacher training examination results revealed the following: the total number of candidates presented represented a 28.4% increase over the previous year's figures, the men increasing by 37.9% and the women by 6.3%; the total number of 333 teachers who passed represented an increase of 25.7 per cent, the increase among the men being 42.3% and the women 12.5%; the number of those who had completed their three years' training and were available for posting as fully-trained teachers had risen from 51% to 64%, an increase of 25.4%; the percentage of successes in the examinations had risen from 79.5% in 1929 to 82.8% in 1930. Mr J. H. Farquhar who visited most teacher training schools during the year, stated:

Teacher training is now well established. Sound foundations have been laid... aims have been clarified, methods adjusted and due proportion given to all aspects of the training... The practical side is receiving much more emphasis, and the establishment of practice Kraal schools, where individual classes are utilised and where the whole school is put in charge of a student for control purposes, is further evidence that training is being taken seriously. Additions to the staffs have been made, and use is being made of specialists such as nurses to give improved training in specialist subjects. Well qualified Native teachers are placed in charge of the practice schools. Organisation has been much improved ... and the work is much more adapted

to kraal school conditions and to Native life. In the actual lessons given, there is generally a great improvement in technique, class control and in the use of the blackboard. Fundamental principles and related demonstration and criticism lessons have received much attention...²²⁹

In 1931 the total number of candidates presented for the teacher training examinations represented a 25% increase over 1930 and 61% over the 1929 figures. In 12 months the men had increased by 28% and the women by 17%. The total number of 432 teachers who passed, represented an increase of 30% in 12 months and of 73% in two years; of this number, the men increased by 31% over 1930 and the women by 26%. The number of those who had completed their training and qualified for the Elementary Teachers' Certificate, rose from 51 in 1929 to 64 in 1930 to 90 in 1931, an increase of over 40% over the previous year and of 76% during the previous two years. The total number of fully-trained teachers produced since the inauguration of the Department of Native Development was 250; this figure represented in four years one fully-qualified teacher for every sixth school in the community. In addition, 109 teachers had obtained the vernacular Teachers' Certificate. From these figures, according to Jowitt, it was evident that a very appreciable influence had been exerted upon the wide-spread kraal school system and that teacher training was now being given the central place in the school system which it rightly deserved.²³⁰

In 1932 the total number of teachers who completed their training course was 118 (100 males and 18 females), the corresponding figures for the previous three years being 90, 64 and 51, the percentage increase during this period being 13%, an increase which, according to Jowitt, 'must be regarded with satisfaction, especially when it is remembered that this numerical increase has been accompanied by a remarkable improvement in the standard of training given'. Of the 118 female students enrolled in the various training classes, 99 earned promotion. This figure showed that although only 11% of the whole teaching staff throughout the country was composed of women, the latter now comprised 23% of those entering teacher training. Since the Department of Native Development was inaugurated, the number of teachers who had satisfactorily completed their three-year course of training, totalled 368. Jowitt added:

From every circuit the inspectors' reports testify to the radical improvements in the training given, such improvements being concerned with teaching technique, professional outlook, school practice, industrial work, examination standards, blackboard work and similar features. The training of the African teacher is now generally conceded to be an important professional

task demanding more than mere devotion in those who would attempt it, and in Southern Rhodesia, as elsewhere, it is now drawing to its ranks men and women, who in addition to such devotion, contribute generously from their own specialised training, scholarship and experience, a fact which is clearly demonstrated by the staff re-adjustments made in the various training schools throughout the country.²³¹

In 1933 the total number of candidates in the teacher training examinations increased by 9%; the total number of those who passed increased by 16% and the total number of those who became eligible for certificates increased by 21%. This, taken in conjunction with the steadily rising standard of work, according to Jowitt, was indicative of real achievement. During the previous 12 months, the number of female students enrolled in the various teacher training classes, had increased from 118 to 131; this represented 23% of the total enrolment. At the end of the year, of the total number of candidates who became eligible for their final certificate, 23% were female. This, according to Jowitt, was 'a fact of real significance for the system as a whole, and a cause for encouragement when it is remembered that throughout the territory, women teachers (African) number but 11% of the teaching strength. This disposes of another generalisation, namely, that in Southern Rhodesia, girls never could and never would become teachers'. Since the Department of Native Development was inaugurated, the number of teachers who had satisfactorily completed their three-year course of training totalled 501, apart from those who had taken the Industrial Teachers' Certificate or the Vernacular Certificate course. According to Jowitt, the contribution which this had made to the effectiveness of the work done was even greater than the number would suggest.²³²

In 1934 the Department of Native Development raised the entrance qualification for pupils beginning the teacher training course from Standard III to Standard IV. According to Jowitt, the raising of the entrance qualification from Standard III to Standard IV for the teachers' course, was a step in the right direction although the Department recognised that Standard IV was a very meagre qualification for admission to a teacher training course; it was the intention of the Department gradually to raise the entrance qualification to Standard VI.²³³ In the event, the two-year post Standard VI teacher training course was not introduced until January, 1939.

(4) *The Role of Government in Subsidiary Training of African Teachers, 1929 - 1934*

In addition to normal teacher training, the regulations of 1929 also provided for the establishment of subsidiary teacher training at selected sites subject to finances being available. Only *bona fide* acting teachers of at least three years' standing were to be accepted as students; such students were required to be vouched for by missions with regard to character and general fitness, and to be confirmed by the Department of Native Development with regard to mental fitness. Approval for the establishment of subsidiary teacher training centres was to be granted for one year only; such approval was to be renewable at the discretion of the Department of Native Development. The regulations fixed the number of students in training at at least 10 and at not more than 20; the school hours inclusive of the hours devoted to industrial work and exclusive of preparation at at least five hours per day and the school year at 100 days. In addition, each student was required to do at least three weeks of teaching practice in an approved practising school. Actual instruction was required to be given by approved teachers whose professional qualifications for this work were deemed satisfactory by the Director of Native Development.

At the end of the training, a departmental examination was to be held and a vernacular certificate was to be given to each successful candidate. Such a certificate would enable the holder to teach through the medium of the vernacular in aided kraal schools and would subsequently be endorsed at 'suitable intervals' by the inspector. The gaining of this certificate would enable the holder, subject to the recommendations of the inspector, to proceed for fuller training at an accredited training school if so desired.²³⁴

In short, according to Jowitt, the course was intended to be 'sufficiently elastic to provide rudimentary but valuable training for men of little education but proved calibre, enabling them to return to their posts better equipped, enabling some of them to enter the gates of fuller training beyond, and providing gradual amelioration of conditions within the kraal schools... pending the more accredited professional training of the next generation who shall subsequently replace these pioneers'.²³⁵

St Faith's Mission was chosen as the first centre for this important experiment and the course was launched in 1929 with 20 students. Suitable accommodation was provided and an experienced and adaptable European lady teacher was appointed to make this her special venture. Realising from the outset the possibilities as well as the difficulties of her task and given full support by her mission and by the inspector

concerned, she threw herself unreservedly into her task. As a result, according to Jowitt, the improbable was achieved:

The poor material responded wonderfully well; their bearing alone was sufficient to demonstrate that they had greatly benefitted; they definitely assimilated academic knowledge previously beyond their horizon; they ... definitely developed skill in and aptitude towards professional and industrial subjects, singing, drill and recreation, hygiene and craft work, which will stand them in good stead, and in brief they left St Faith's having achieved far more than the Department or many critics had thought possible. To one with an intimate knowledge of the kraal schools from which these men came and of the work previously done there, it was most encouraging to see them teaching by accepted methods, taking a class in physical drill or Native games, in a dramatised Bible story or a practical hygiene lesson, discussing freely the problems of the home, the school and the kraal, criticising each other's procedure and suggesting improvement, or engaging in basketry or craft work which they hoped to adopt upon their return to the Reserve school which had rather anxiously allowed them to go for training. That they would return to such schools much better equipped for their work there could be little doubt, which means that 20 of them would carry into as many centres the valuable results of their training.²³⁶

In 1930 subsidiary teacher training was opened at the Catholic missions at Triashill and Chishawasha and the Church of Sweden mission at Masase in addition to St Faith's. Of the total number of 59 teachers enrolled, 51 passed the course. Of the course taken at St Faith's the inspector said that every teacher made considerable progress as a result of his attendance and of the intensive course given. He added:

It was readily apparent that teachers of mature age and of rudimentary qualifications made steady progress in many directions. In certain instances the most unpromising man proved teachable and adaptable, so that now he returns to his Kraal School capable of much higher relative achievement than when he entered St Faith's. This is not only true of his classroom work, but of his general method of attacking such work, of his teaching technique, of his use of the blackboard, of his capability in connection with industrial work and of his bearing, personal appearance and attitude.

Of Triashill the inspector reported that the Sister in charge of this difficult course had been able to effect a great transformation. Practice had been given in handcraft and the making of simple tools, in carpentry and building, in agriculture and gardening and in the making of simple apparatus; the teachers derived from the course great and lasting benefit. Of Chishawasha, the inspector for Salisbury said the change effected in so short a time had been almost miraculous. The students had made bricks, door and window frames and had erected a Kimberley brick building; the roof was well constructed and fairly well thatched and the walls nicely plastered. Each student said that he would erect a new school when he returned home. The students were also given practice in basketry, mat-making, the making of hoe and axe handles, brick moulds, plastering floats, wood carving and clay modelling for lesson illustration. In addition, the students had cultivated rotation plots and had undertaken gardening. Finally, Mr George Stark reported that the industrial work at Masase under Mr Bergman, was one of the most promising aspects of the course. The teachers had received a good, sound industrial training within the time limit of the course. They were taught simple carpentry and the making of tools from scrap iron; on the examination day, there was a considerable display of the tools made.²³⁷

Mr J. H. Farquhar in summing up his impressions of the value of subsidiary teacher training said that the result in the majority of cases, was astonishing; the 100 days of training had effected a transformation and the teachers gained new concepts of their work as teachers and as community helpers. He added: 'They were pioneers before, and because of their training they will be better pioneers now. As more fully trained teachers take the field, they should perhaps be placed in the established schools and this pioneer vanguard moved into new areas. They are excellent men for this job... The experiment has been justified'.²³⁸

In 1931 subsidiary teacher training courses were held at the Dutch Reformed Church mission at Jichidza and at St Faith's and Triashill. Of the 49 candidates presented, 45 passed the course and earned the Vernacular Certificate; this brought the total of those who passed the course since it began, to 109.²³⁹

In 1932 the subsidiary teacher training course was held at St Faith's; 17 men passed the course and obtained the Vernacular Teachers' Certificate bringing the total number of mature men who had satisfactorily completed this short course to 126.²⁴⁰

In 1933 subsidiary teacher training was conducted at the Brethren In Christ Church mission at Wanezi and at St Faith's. Thirty-seven men passed the course and obtained their Vernacular Certificates, bringing the total number of those who satisfactorily completed this course since its inception, to 163.²⁴¹

This concludes our survey of the role of Government in normal training and subsidiary training of African teachers during Jowitt's headship of the Department of Native Development from 1927 to 1934. It is evident that Jowitt was a progressive educator who vitalised the entire African educational system in Southern Rhodesia during this period. This explains the warm tribute paid to him and his Department at the Missionary Conference of 1934.

(5) *Introduction of African Secondary Education, 1934 - 1939*

Starting in 1934 missionaries began to advocate the introduction of African secondary education for several reasons. Firstly, the increase in upper primary facilities between 1927 and 1933 enabled more pupils to acquire a full primary academic education than in the past. Consequently, the demand for post-primary academic education also increased to a point where it became necessary for missionaries to respond.²⁴² Secondly, there was a need for higher qualifications for candidates for the ministry. Thirdly, there was an increasing demand for African teachers with higher qualifications than Standard 7 to teach the upper primary classes in boarding and teacher training schools. At that time, African teachers sufficiently qualified to teach upper primary classes in boarding and teacher training schools were only obtainable from the Union of South Africa. The Rhodesian missionaries found this arrangement unsatisfactory, *inter alia*, because African teachers born in the Union of South Africa did not settle well in Rhodesia; they did not know the local vernacular while if Rhodesian African youths were sent to South Africa for secondary education, there was always the temptation of the higher wages offered there to entice them to remain in the Union.²⁴³

The undesirability of sending Rhodesian Africans to South Africa for secondary education and the importation of African teachers from South Africa, was also emphasised by the Principal of St Augustine's, the Revd Robert H. Baker. In a letter to Bishop Paget dated 1st April, 1937 Baker argued firstly, that the prospective pupils were much younger than in the past and were getting still younger; it was therefore undesirable to send such young pupils to South Africa for secondary education. Secondly, the large institutions for higher education in South Africa were undenominational and for this reason, undesirable. Thirdly, experience had shown that African teachers from South Africa did not settle well in Rhodesia. He added: 'They want to go back-quite naturally-to get married. Or if any of them are married, their wives do not settle well among the people up here, where they are more or less

considered as foreigners'.²⁴⁴ For these reasons, the Missionary Conference of 1934 appointed a committee chaired by the Wesleyan missionary, the Revd Herbert Carter, to study the question of higher education for Africans in Southern Rhodesia.

At the Missionary Conference of 1936 the Revd Herbert Carter pointed out that it had been estimated that at least 40 or 50 African pupils from Southern Rhodesia were studying in South Africa while some 120 African pupils would pass Standard VII in Rhodesian institutions at the end of the year. He said that there was an increasing demand for higher academic training among Africans in Southern Rhodesia for which there was no provision in the Colony. The question was whether to start higher courses at already existing schools or to start a new institution for Higher Education.²⁴⁵

There were several arguments for and against the establishment of an inter-denominational secondary school. Those missionaries who favoured the establishment of an inter-denominational secondary school argued, *inter alia*, that: it would be easier to obtain first-class equipment and highly specialised teachers; it would be more economical to run one inter-denominational secondary school than separate institutions; since there would (eventually) be gathered together at such a school a large number of pupils of about the same age and grade, community life specially suited to their ages should be easier than if secondary school courses were added to already existing primary courses; it would be possible to introduce subsequently at such an inter-denominational secondary school diversified and specialised courses, particularly vocational courses to take advantage of the higher qualifications made available under the secondary school course and the cost would be comparatively small; there would be less likelihood of the pupils suffering from too much denominationalism.

Those missionaries who opposed the establishment of an inter-denominational secondary school argued, *inter alia*, that: the initial cost would be great and it would be difficult to ascertain in advance precisely what expense would be justified by subsequent events. Boarding and sleeping accommodation would be very expensive if each denomination had to build its own hostels. Furthermore, provision would eventually have to be made for separate hostels for girls; there would be a possible danger of loss of religious atmosphere at an inter-denominational institution; the influence of the place might be morally and spiritually harmful; religious difficulties might arise between various creeds; it would be difficult to get the right type of missionary staff to accept posts in an inter-denominational school and the work of such a staff might easily be ruined if differences of creed were allowed to upset the harmony of the place; the school would have to be run by one Principal responsible to a board of missionaries of different denominations.

There were also several arguments for and against the establishment of secondary school courses at already existing institutions. Those missionaries who favoured the establishment of secondary school courses at already existing institutions argued, *inter alia*, that: the courses could be developed easily and naturally as required; the initial cost would be small; the pupils would be under the direct influence of their own Church. Those missionaries who were opposed to the development of secondary school courses at already existing institutions argued, *inter alia*, that: equipment could not be so good nor the staff so specialised as under the alternative scheme. There would be a waste of a certain amount of money and effort and some of the courses, at any rate, would probably not be very efficient; there would be a loss of contacts for the pupils with the pupils of other denominations; they would lose something of the breadth of outlook which came from contacts with pupils from other schools.²⁴⁶

At the Missionary Conference of 1936 the Committee on Higher Education chaired by the Revd Herbert Carter, favoured the establishment of a new Institution for Higher Education in Southern Rhodesia. The Executive of the Conference had also approved of the principle and Carter's Committee asked the Conference to: (a) invite all Missionary Societies to join in order to make the effort a national one; (b) appoint a new Committee to prepare a scheme for co-operative Higher Education; (c) submit the scheme to the Executive Committee at its next meeting. The Executive Committee would, in turn, forward the scheme to the Heads of the Churches and Missions affiliated with the Conference for consideration. The Conference appointed a new Committee on Higher Education consisting of the following: the Revd E. G. Nightingale, the Revd Fr Alban Winter, the Revd Fr O'Hea, Miss C. D. Huntley, the Revd C. F. Eshelman, the Revd A. A. Louw Jnr., the Revd M. J. Murphree and Mr S. Curtis (Convener).²⁴⁷

The Committee on Higher Education appointed by the Missionary Conference of 1936 met at Morgenster mission on 13th and 14th July, 1937. Present at the meeting were the following: Mr S. J. Curtis (American Board) - Chairman; Mr C. Brand (Dutch Reformed Church) - Secretary; the Revd E. G. Nightingale (Wesleyan Methodist Church); the Revd Fr Alban Winter, C. R. (Anglican Church); Miss M. A. Hudson (London Missionary Society) and the Revd H. E. Taylor (American Methodist Episcopal Church). On the first day of the meeting, the representative of the Anglican Church made it clear that the Anglican Church was not prepared to support a combined effort to provide African secondary education. At the first session of the following day, it further transpired that two Missions were in the near future likely to be in a position to offer a site with the necessary equipment for an inter-denominational institution.

The Committee agreed to invite those Missions to make such offers should they be ready to do so and in the meanwhile to encourage the various Missions to start their own experiments by starting the Junior Certificate classes in 1939. The Committee anticipated that not all Missions would be prepared to do this and suggested that those which might do so, might offer hospitality to the others. The Committee devoted the afternoon and evening sessions mainly to drafting a skeleton scheme for a united institution which was being contemplated. An integral part of the scheme was to encourage each Denomination to provide its own hostel on some such scheme as operated at Fort Hare.²⁴⁸

Having opposed a joint effort to establish an inter-denominational secondary school, the Anglicans began to explore the possibilities of establishing their own secondary school at St Augustine's.

In March, 1937 the Principal of St Augustine's, the Revd Robert H. Baker, forwarded to Bishop Paget a detailed estimate of the costs of inaugurating secondary education at St Augustine's. He conceded that the project was not likely to be a cheap experiment and the Anglican Church had to face the fact that there would be no government assistance.²⁴⁹ He said the estimated costs were based on the assumption that a secondary school course at St Augustine's would begin in 1939 and that the number of students at the beginning would be quite small—probably about 6 in the first year with 9 more in the second year and 12 more in the third year, or a total of 27. He added: 'It is not very likely that the Native Development Department will give any official approval of our efforts, and therefore we can expect no financial assistance from them. Nor is it likely that they would approve of any of the present staff taking effective part in the development of the scheme'. Assuming this to be the case, he said it would be necessary to appoint a full-time European Principal for the school at a salary of from £250 to £300 per annum for the first year in addition to the cost of his passage and furlough arrangements.

In the second and third years of the course, the Principal would need an African assistant/teacher from the Union of South Africa with a Native Higher Certificate who would be paid (say) £84 per annum rising by about £2 10 shillings per annum to £100 per annum in addition to the cost of his fare from the Union as African teachers with such a qualification were not available in Southern Rhodesia. This staff would suffice until the number of pupils reached about 50 when an increase of staff would be necessary. He said that a new dormitory and increased dining room accommodation would be needed; this together with furnishing, would probably cost about £200. Eventually new class-rooms would be needed but one class-room during

the first year would meet the essential needs of the school. He hoped that prospective pupils would be drawn from the most promising of the young pupils already enrolled at St Augustine's; in addition, a certain number of former pupils of St Augustine's who were engaged in teaching would want to return to St Augustine's to improve their education; possibly a limited number of non-Anglicans would want to come.

He estimated that the school fees would be £8 per annum for board and £7 per annum for tuition or a total of £15 per annum.²⁵⁰ He said there would be two categories of pupils at the proposed secondary school at St Augustine's. In the first category would be those pupils passing Standard VI preferably chosen from the most promising of the young pupils at St Augustine's; this category of pupils would need financial assistance by way of bursaries. In the second category would be former pupils of St Augustine's engaged in teaching who desired to return to St Augustine's and improve their education. A large number of these former pupils were expected to pay their own fees from their own savings. It was therefore essential to have a fund from which to help the most promising pupils. He said a bursary fund of the order of £50 for the first year, £75 for the second year and £100 for the third year, would be needed.

→ The teaching of science required careful consideration; it would be expensive as a European qualified to teach science would need to be appointed and a laboratory would be needed.²⁵¹ Altogether, it was estimated that the scheme would cost £4 000 over four years.²⁵²

In view of the high costs which the inauguration of a secondary school course at St Augustine's would entail, Bishop Paget was inclined to agree with those missionaries who favoured the establishment of an inter-denominational school under government control with denominational hostels. The new Principal of St Augustine's, Fr Alban Winter, was opposed to the idea. In a letter to Bishop Paget dated 1st February, 1938 Fr Winter said that a government school with inter-denominational hostels was but little better than an inter-denominational school with inter-denominational hostels. 'The only difference to my mind', he added, 'is that in the first there is no religion beyond what the Hostels supply whereas in the second there is an inter-denominational religious atmosphere with the accompanying danger of misleading our boys. I am not sure which is the worse to be feared in the long run'.²⁵³

The Governor, Sir Herbert Stanley, said there was merit in inaugurating African secondary education in a government school because at the outset, the number of pupils to be catered for, was not likely to be such as to justify the establishment of more than one secondary school in the Colony. In a letter to Fr Winter dated 14th February, 1938 he stated:

I do not conceive that some of the other Churches would be satisfied if the one and only Secondary centre were Anglican. Two or three of them would probably feel impelled by your example to launch out on their own, and the whole good cause might receive a set-back through the consequent multiplication of eventual demands upon public funds. On the other hand, I appreciate very fully the importance of the training of native catechists and priests being based upon a general education higher than Standard VI, and being given in a definitely religious atmosphere ... Ultimately - perhaps sooner rather than later - there will be, I should think, room for several Secondary schools, and possibly the missions might then have a chance to step in, or alternatively, if there were only one or two very large secular centres, the establishment of denominational hostels, as at Fort Hare, might become a matter for consideration. But in any event the decision will not rest with me.²⁵⁴

Fr Winter, however, was adamant. 'Our secondary work at St Augustine's', he wrote Sir Herbert Stanley on 28th March, 1938, 'will grow naturally out of the work we are already doing... In fact, we have already the nucleus of a small class waiting for us to begin'. He stressed that the Anglican Church was not prepared to wait for the Government to start secondary education: 'If we are to do this work at all, it is far better to make a start now when we have the pupils waiting and myself available with St Augustine's plant to use'. He did not believe that once Africans were accustomed to look to the Government for secondary education, they would afterwards fall back on Mission Schools: 'The latter at best could only hope to get cast-offs, the Government having the pick, as, in fact, is the tendency today with Domboshawa and Tjolotjo...' He appealed to Sir Herbert Stanley to support the proposed Anglican venture: 'I believe that were you convinced of the rightness of our Church taking up this work, you could still find some way of helping us to raise the comparatively small sum to see it through the first four years'.²⁵⁵

Fr Carl Runge of the Community of the Resurrection's St Peter's School at Rosettenville, Johannesburg, supported those missionaries who favoured the establishment of a government secondary school for Africans in Southern Rhodesia, at least in the first instance. In a letter dated 21st February, 1938 he tried to dissuade Fr Winter from opposing the establishment of such a school:

I do not mean to say definitely that we ought to give up our plan of starting secondary education at St Augustine's, but I do think we ought to consider it afresh. A really effective Government secondary school, with all the

resources of Government behind it, - a sort of Achimota for Southern Rhodesia, - would be of immense benefit to the Natives.²⁵⁶

Although the Committee on Higher Education which met at Morgenster on 13th and 14th July, 1937 failed to agree to establish an inter-denominational secondary school, the Committee was of the opinion that the time had come for starting a secondary education course. In this connection, the Missionary Conference of 1938 passed the following resolution:

This Conference is convinced that the time has come when the initial steps should be taken to establish Secondary Education for the Native people of this Colony, and we would urge that the Government make adequate financial provision in the new regulations for this development, over and above the amount provided for primary education, teacher training courses and parallel courses which might be allowed under the Quota system. The Conference expresses its strong conviction that Secondary and Higher Education should fall within the Missionary Education System, and that the co-operation between Missions and the Government be continued throughout the whole range of Native Education.²⁵⁷

However, because the missionaries lacked a common strategy, they were not in a position to pressurise the Government to provide the necessary funds to inaugurate African secondary education within the missionary education system.

Meanwhile, the Anglicans redoubled their efforts to start their own secondary school at St Augustine's. One dormitory and class-room which were estimated to cost £500, were urgently needed. Accordingly, on 4th April, 1938 Bishop Paget made an application to the SPG for a grant for this amount from its Marriott Bequest Fund.²⁵⁸ The Community of the Resurrection (CR) backed the scheme to inaugurate secondary education at St Augustine's. In November, 1938 the CR advanced £2 000 towards capital costs and also appointed its most experienced administrator and former educationist in England, the Revd Alban Winter, Principal of the proposed secondary school in addition to his headmastership of St Augustine's Primary School.²⁵⁹

A fund-raising campaign launched by the Anglican Church netted £300 from the Beit Trust, £50 from the Marriott Bequest²⁶⁰, £100 from Mrs Dyott²⁶¹ and £250 from European Anglican Church members in Southern Rhodesia.²⁶²

The Anglicans launched secondary education at St Augustine's in January, 1939 with 6 pupils.²⁶³ The Government refused to assist the school with a grant.²⁶⁴

Initially, a class-room in the primary school was used for lessons but in February, 1939 a new block of buildings consisting of two class-rooms and one science room was opened by the Governor and blessed by Bishop Paget. Although the initial intake of pupils was small, Anglican officials were pleased that the secondary education course had finally started and hoped that in time St Augustine's might become the leading centre of 'higher' education for Africans in Southern Rhodesia.²⁶⁵

This concludes our study of the role played by Christian missions in African education in Zimbabwe from 1924 to 1939. It is clear that Christian missions made a tremendous contribution to African education in Zimbabwe during this period.

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255. *Ibid.*, Fr Carl Runge, C. R., to Fr Alban Winter, 21st February, 1938
257. *Proceedings of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference, Bulawayo, June, 1938*, p.11
258. NAZ, Ang. 29/1/1, Secondary Education at St Augustine's, Form Of Application For A Grant From the SPG Marriott Bequest In Aid of The Erection Of A College Or School, 4th April, 1938.
259. R. J. Zvobgo, op. cit., p.120
260. NAZ, Ang. 29/1/1, Secondary Education at St Augustine's, Fr A. Winter to Bishop Paget, 10th February, 1939.
261. *Ibid.*, Robert H. Baker to Bishop Paget, 28th April, 1939.
262. R. J. Zvobgo, op. cit., p.119
263. NAZ, Ang. 29/1/1, Secondary Education at St Augustine's, Fr A. Winter to Mrs Dyott, 25th February, 1939.
264. *Ibid.*, Fr A. Winter to Mr Kerr, 26th February, 1939.
265. R. J. Zvobgo, op. cit., p.122.

Chapter 8

Medical Missions, 1924-1939

We saw in Chapter 6 the medical contributions of the various Christian denominations among Africans in Zimbabwe from 1893 to 1923. In this Chapter, we shall consider the medical contributions of various Christian denominations among Africans in Zimbabwe from 1924 to 1939. We shall begin with Government grants to the missions.

I

Government Grants to the Missions

In 1928 in response to appeals from various missionary societies for financial support, the Government decided to give grants for the first time to missionary societies engaged in medical work among Africans. Government Notice No. 543 of 10th August, 1928 stated that in future and until further notice, the Government would give grants to missionary societies employing qualified medical missionaries and/or certificated nurses engaged in *bona fide* medical work among Africans towards:

- (a) Salaries of medical missionaries and nurses;
- (b) Maintenance of mission hospitals;
- (c) the establishment of training schools for African probationer-nurses, male and female and
- (d) the purchase of drugs and dressings, including the upkeep of outdoor dispensaries.

In every instance, the payment of grants was to be subject to the approval of the Colonial Secretary who was to be guided by the advice of the Medical Director and the Chief Native Commissioner. Due regard was to be given to the density of the African population to be served and the proximity or otherwise of other missions in receipt of similar grants, or of established Government medical officers or Govern-

ment hospitals. The Government Notice further stated that the acceptance of any grant or a portion of a grant would *ipso facto* confer upon the Government the right to inspect all mission hospitals, training schools, dispensaries and stocks of drugs and dressings, to examine books and audited accounts and to obtain any returns which it might from time to time require to be submitted to the Medical Director. In addition, the Government would pay: (a) one half of the salary of every registered medical practitioner employed as a medical missionary, but no such payment was to exceed the sum of £200 for any medical missionary in any one year; (b) the sum of £30 per annum to every missionary society in respect of every missionary who was employed by such missionary society and who held a certificate to the effect that he had attended a special training course in tropical diseases at any of the recognised British universities, colleges, hospitals or training schools. Further, the Government would pay a grant not exceeding £40 per annum in respect of every approved certificated nurse or sister employed by a mission in medical work and a grant of £3 per bed per annum towards the upkeep of an approved mission hospital. Grants were also to be paid to the missions for the training of African nurses, male or female, provided that:

- (a) the probationer, prior to undergoing training, had passed Standard IV and could read, write and speak the English language intelligently;
- (b) the male probationer on admission to the training course, was at least twenty years of age and the female probationer on admission to the training course, was at least seventeen years of age;
- (c) the training was for a period of three years and a certificate of such training would be granted only by the Public Health Department and would be subject to the candidate passing an examination to the satisfaction of the examiners appointed by the Government.

Grants were to be paid on the following scales:

- (a) £5 per annum for each completed year of service towards the support of each probationer nurse, male or female;
- (b) £10 for each probationer who had passed the necessary examination and had obtained the required certificate;
- (c) £12 per annum for each fully-certificated African nurse (male or female) employed by a mission;

- (d) £10 per annum for each completed year of service in respect of each fully-certificated African midwife employed by a mission.

Furthermore, diplomas and certificates in respect of medical missionaries, nurses and probationers for whom applications were made for grants, were required to be submitted, along with the application for the grant, to the Medical Director's office for examination and registration before any grants could be approved. Finally, in respect of every approved medical mission, the Government was to refund half the cost of all drugs and dressings. In this respect, the Government's contribution was not to exceed £100 in any one year for any mission station. Receipted and audited accounts for this expenditure were required to be submitted to the Government at the end of each calendar year.¹

Although these grants were hedged about with onerous conditions, the missionaries had no alternative but to accept them. Furthermore, although these grants were meagre relative to the needs, they nevertheless enabled missionary societies to recruit more medical staff and to train African nurses and orderlies at their hospitals. With these preliminary remarks, we shall now consider the medical contributions of various Christian denominations in Zimbabwe from 1924 to 1939. We shall begin with the American Board Mission.

II

Medical Missions, 1924-1939

We saw in Chapter 6 that among Africans, the first medical mission staffed by a medical doctor began when Dr W.L. Thompson of the American Board, opened a dispensary at Mt. Selinda mission in 1893; he was followed by Dr William Lawrence who opened a small hospital at Chikore mission in 1900. We also noted that Dr Thompson expanded the dispensary at Mt. Selinda until it became a full-fledged hospital - the Willis F. Pierce Memorial Hospital which was completed in 1912. Between 1924 and 1939 the American Board missionaries expanded the medical work they started during the pioneer period.

According to Mr Jabulani Hlatywayo,² a former pupil of Mt. Selinda and Chikore, Africans were initially afraid to go to mission hospitals and had no confidence in white doctors. Gradually, however, they began to gain confidence in mission doctors firstly because of their expertise in the treatment of malaria which was prevalent in the Chipinge District and which traditional doctors were unable to cure and secondly

because they saw that those people who had been operated upon by mission doctors for what appeared to be incurable diseases, had survived.³ For these reasons, the medical work at Mt. Selinda and Chikore, flourished.

In 1928 the facilities at Mt. Selinda hospital provided for a limited number of white patients as well as a large number of African patients. The staff consisted of Dr Lawrence and a trained nurse. In addition, there was a well-equipped dispensary; the mission served many white settlers around the mission and sometimes Dr Lawrence was called away to nearby settlements to treat both African and White patients.⁴

In 1930 two doctors and two nurses were resident at Mt. Selinda and a third nurse during the last three months. At Chikore a doctor served from 15th September and an African midwife served throughout the year. One of the doctors made frequent visits to Chikore until the arrival of Dr W.H. Willis in September. Meanwhile, in April, an additional African ward accommodating 6 patients, was opened at Mt Selinda hospital, bringing the total number of beds for African patients to 15. During the year, 322 African patients were treated. At the out-patients' department, 2,418 African patients were treated with a total of 7,373 treatments given. The diseases most commonly treated included syphilis, yaws, malarial fever, influenza, hook-worms, dysentery and small pox. At Chikore, 1,214 patients were treated with a total 2,598 treatments given. In addition, a three-year training course for African nurses was launched at Mt. Selinda with 7 student nurses in training of whom 4 were boys and 3 were girls. These student nurses had regular daily classroom lectures and dispensary dressings and ward instruction. One of the doctors made visits to 42 different patients; these did not include all visits to nearby villages. Many of these visits entailed journeys of up to 50 miles from Mt. Selinda by car and frequently a journey of from 4 to 10 miles on foot. In addition, medicines were sent out to the 50 outstation schools where teachers treated sores, wounds and administered simple remedies.⁵

In 1931 nine African probationer nurses were being trained at Mt. Selinda hospital of whom 2 boys and 1 girl were in the first year, 2 boys and 1 girl were in the second year and 2 girls and 1 boy were in the third year. The nurses in the first year were in Standard Five; those in the Second year were in Standard Six while those in the third year were in Standard Seven. The first, second and third year training courses lasted 36 weeks per year, were given for a period of 45 minutes daily, five days per week and consisted of both theoretical and practical work. The first year theoretical work consisted of Elementary Anatomy, Bandaging, Materia Medica, Nursing Ethics while the practical work consisted of Dressings, Clinical Medicine and

Practical Nursing. The Second year theoretical work consisted of Anatomy, Bandaging, Materia Medica, Nursing Ethics and Surgical Nursing while the practical work consisted of Surgical Operations, Dressings, Bedside Nursing of Medical And Surgical cases and Laboratory work. The third year theoretical work consisted of: Review of Anatomy, Antiseptics, Materia Medica and Dispensary, Laboratory Technique, Medicine, Physiology and Hygiene while the practical work consisted of Surgical and Medical cases, Clinical Medicine and Midwifery for girls. The students attended school from 6:30 a.m. to 10 a.m. except for the two girls in the third year who gave full time to their training. After 10 a.m. all were engaged in hospital work except for one hour spent in supervised study. On Saturdays, they were on duty full time while on Sundays one boy and one girl were on duty while others were off duty. During school holidays, each student was given one leave of two weeks per year; during the remainder of the holidays, the students were on duty at the hospital and dispensary.⁶

At the end of the year, the three probationer nurses in the third year - Frederick Musongeya Dhliwayo, Elsie Manyadzeni Mhlanga and Elsie Tongase Sithole-completed their training and Dr Willis forwarded their names to the Medical Director for registration with the Public Health Department.⁷ The mission conferred upon them Certificates of Training in Hospital Work.⁸ During the year, 367 African patients were admitted into the Mt. Selinda hospital while out-patients numbered 2,569. The European patients admitted into Mt Selinda hospital totalled 53 while the out-patients numbered 184.⁹ Among the African patients, according to Dr Willis, malaria was the most prevalent disease followed by venereal disease. In addition, one of the doctors made bi-weekly trips to the Mtema Reserve and treated 300 patients.¹⁰

In 1932 the main building of the Willis F. Pierce Memorial Hospital at Mt. Selinda was constructed with accommodation for 55 patients.¹¹

In 1933 the three nurses who graduated at Mt. Selinda hospital were reported to be doing splendid work-two of them were serving at Mt. Selinda hospital while the third was working at Chikore under Dr Lawrence.¹² During the year, Sister Edith Fuller who was in charge of the training school for nurses at Mt. Selinda hospital, prepared a detailed syllabus for the training of African nurses. This syllabus is worth looking at in detail.

The first-year course of 180 school days covered Practical Nursing, Anatomy and Physiology. The Practical Nursing was to be undertaken two days per week for two terms. Lectures were to be given on: Nursing Ethics, Care of Wards, Hygiene for

Nurses, Admission of Patients, Baths, Bed Making, Enemata, Temperature, Pulse, Respiration, Bed Sores, Observation of Patients, Secretions and Excretions, Counter - Irritants, Diets, Bandaging, Elementary Principles of Cleanliness and Sterilisation. Anatomy and Physiology were to be given three days per week for two terms. Lectures were to be given on: the Skeleton, Composition of Bone and demonstration, Joints, Ligaments, Tendons, Muscles, Glands, The Skin and Mucuous Membrane, The Digestive System, The Circulatory System, The Blood, The Lymphatic System, The Excretory System, The Teeth, The Organs of Special Sense. The Second-year course of 180 school days consisted of Anatomy and Physiology and was to be offered two days per week for one term.

Materia Medica was to be offered three days per week for nine weeks. Lectures were to be given on: The Administration of Medicines, Tables of Weights and Measures, Solids, Liquids, Abbreviations used in giving Medicines, Methods of making Simple Solutions. The Surgical Nursing was to be held three days per week for the second nine weeks of first term and also in the second term.

Lectures were to be given on: Surgical Cleanliness, Preparation of Patients for Operation, Preparation of the Operating Room, Instruments, Scrub-Up Technique, The Patient in the Operating Room, After Care of Patient, Shock, Haemorrhage, Injections of All types, Inflammation, Burns, Nursing Care of Alimentary System (Tonsillectomy, Peritonsillar Abscess, Vincent's Angina, Gastric Ulcer, Appendicitis, Hernia, Cancer), Surgical Care and Treatment of Skin Disease and Injuries, Wounds, Boils, Ulcers, Gangrene, Septic Infections, Fractures, Sprains, Dislocations, Anaesthetics (preparation for and care of patient after operation). The third year syllabus of 180 school days covered Bacteriology and was to be offered three days a week. Lectures were to be given on: History of Bacteriology, Classification of Bacteria, Growth and Size of Bacteria, Construction of Bacteria, Destruction of Bacteria, Practical Disinfection, Bacteria in Disease, The Body's Methods of Overcoming Disease, Laboratory Notes, Use of Microscope, Examination of Urine, Blood, Malaria, Relapsing fever, Intestinal Parasites, Hookworm, Roundworm, Tape Worm, Bilharzia.

The Care of Children was also part of the course and was to be offered two days per week for two terms. Lectures were to be given on: The Normal Baby (Proper Home Conditions, bed, clothes, bath, training in good habits), Growth and Development of the Normal Baby, The Breast-Fed Baby (feeding hours, etc), Weaning the Baby, Artificial Feeding (Care of bottles and Utensils, Number and hours for feeding, Preparation of formula, Feeding Schedule for First Twelve Months, Difficulties of

the Artificially fed baby), The Sick Baby - the General Care in Sickness, Common Disorders and Diseases of Babies (Vomiting, Constipation, Teething, Colic, Diarrhoea, Scurvy, Rickets, Heat Rash, Eczema, Convulsions, Worms, Colds, Tonsils, Earache, Foreign objects in Eye, Ear, Nose, Communicable Diseases).

The course also included Midwifery and was to be offered for one term and taught to both second and third-year girls. Lectures were to be given on: The Bony Pelvis, The Pelvic Organs, Fertilization, Pregnancy, Development of Placenta and Membranes, Signs and Symptoms of Pregnancy, Growth and Development of Foetus, Labour (First, Second and Third Stage Definition and Management), Care of the New-Born Baby, Effect of Labour on the Baby, Normal Puerperium, Later Care of the Baby, Feeding the Baby, Difficult Labour, Breech, Twins, Prolapsed Cord, Precipitate Labour, Haemorrhage, Premature Labour, Complications of the Puerperium.¹³ It was indeed a comprehensive syllabus offering comprehensive training.

In November, 1933 examinations for African nurses were held at Mt Selinda hospital. Students were examined in Practical Nursing, Anatomy, First Aid, Surgical Nursing, Dispensary Medicine, Bacteriology and Midwifery.¹⁴ Four students took examinations which were conducted by Miss Minnie Tontz, R.N., and Dr Willis. All four students- three girls and one boy- passed the examinations.¹⁵ The four graduates- Musengeya Dhlwayo, Mwanadzani Mhlanga, Elsie Sithole and Ethel Dube - were accepted for registration as qualified nurses and orderlies under Government Notice No. 543 of 1928.¹⁶

In 1934 nine African student nurses were being trained at Mt. Selinda hospital. In 1935 an X-ray plant was installed at Mt. Selinda hospital.¹⁷ In 1936 Dr Willis joined Dr Lawrence at Mt. Selinda hospital. In addition to the two doctors and two registered nurses - Miss Minnie A. Tontz and Miss Edith Fuller, an additional registered nurse - Miss Nellie Myers - arrived from the United States. During the year, 858 in-patients and 1,689 out-patients were treated and 57 operations were performed; 7 lepers were also under going treatment at the hospital.¹⁸ Serious cases treated by Dr Lawrence included hookworm, syphilis, bilharzia, yaws, measles, influenza, dysentery, round worm, chicken pox, pneumonia and black-water fever.¹⁹ In 1937 the much-needed nurses' home was opened at Mt. Selinda hospital. During the year, 24 student nurses- 6 boys and 18 girls- were being trained at Mt. Selinda hospital.²⁰ On 15th December, 1938 Miss Theresa Buck who had trained as a nurse at Peter Bent Brigham Hospital in Boston, Massachusetts, joined the staff of Mt. Selinda hospital.²¹ In 1939 Dr Willis returned to the United States.²² In spite of his departure, the medical work at Mt. Selinda hospital continued to flourish.

We noted in Chapter 6 that missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church pioneered medical work among Africans in Victoria Province when the first medical missionary, Dr John T. Helm, arrived at Morgenster mission in 1894. We noted that Dr Helm not only treated the sick at Morgenster Hospital but also lepers at the Leper Settlement near Morgenster until his departure in 1914 due to failing health.

After Dr Helm's departure, the Revds H.W. Murray and G.S. Murray both of whom had attended a brief six months' course in tropical medicine at Livingstone College, London, rendered medical assistance until the arrival of Dr M.H. Steyn in 1924.²³ From 1924 to 1928 Dr Steyn was assisted in his work at Morgenster hospital by two nursing Sisters, Miss C. Stapelberg and Miss M. Reynecke.²⁴

In 1930 the John Helm Memorial Hospital at Morgenster was completed with beds for 30 in-patients.²⁵ A three-year training course for African student nurses was also introduced. In 1934 the staff consisted of Dr Steyn, 2 qualified nurses, 3 African orderlies and 8 African student nurses.²⁶ In 1935 the hospital had 24 beds, out-patient rooms, a dispensary and an operating theatre. During the year, 386 in-patients and 4,137 out-patients were treated and 136 operations were performed.²⁷ In 1936, 430 in-patients and 4,732 out-patients were treated and 176 operations were performed. The cases most commonly treated were malaria, bilharzia, syphilis, dysentery, various ulcers, eye cases and infectious diseases such as whooping cough, measles and mumps.²⁸

The Dutch Reformed Church missionaries also started medical work at Gutu mission under the Revd G.S. Murray. Sister M. Wahl served at Gutu mission hospital from 1929 to 1936 while Dr Ina Murray, the daughter of Revd G.S. Murray, served at Gutu mission hospital from 1933 to 1934.²⁹ The major effort, however, was centred at Morgenster hospital where Dr Steyn built a reputation as a renowned eye specialist.

We noted in Chapter 6 that the Church of Sweden opened a clinic at Mnene mission when a Swedish nurse, Miss Maria Kohlquist, arrived at Mnene in September, 1915.

In 1924 the Native Commissioner, Belingwe, promised Pastor Gustav Bernander who was in charge of Mnene that the Government would give a grant of £250 per annum to Mnene as soon as a medical doctor arrived at the mission. Accordingly, in 1925 the Church of Sweden commissioned Dr Nils Tilander who had served for a couple of years at Betania hospital in Dundee, to proceed to Mnene and take charge of the mission clinic. The first sick rooms consisted of three huts with accommodation for 40 patients. Tilander supervised the erection of a large building to serve as

a hospital with rooms for examinations, surgeries, treatments and a laboratory.³⁰ By 1931 Mnene hospital contained, besides the usual wards, a laboratory, operating theatre and X-ray equipment. During the year, a block of three wards capable of accommodating up to 100 more beds was nearing completion.³¹

Meanwhile, in 1925 the Church of Sweden began medical work at Masase mission in a stone hut with two Swedish nurses, Elin Persson and Maria Koelqvist, in charge. Masase hospital was built in 1930 and consisted of an out-patient department, a house for out-patients, four rondavels, one house with a male ward and a female ward, maternity ward and a small labour ward, all in the same building; a Sister's house was also built.³²

Dr Tilander who resided at Mnene, paid periodic visits to Masase hospital; he was assisted by five qualified nurses, three at Mnene and two at Masase. In 1936, 566 in-patients and 389 out-patients were treated at Mnene hospital while 250 in-patients and 310 out-patients were treated at Masase hospital.³³

According to the Native Commissioner, Belingwe, the main purpose of Mnene and Masase hospitals was to combat venereal disease which was rife in the Belingwe District, it being estimated that 75% of the indigenous African population suffered from the disease. In 1930, for example, of the 1,355 patients treated at Mnene hospital, 634 were treated for venereal disease, 66 for leprosy and the rest for general diseases. At Masase hospital, of the 1,128 patients treated in 1930, 887 were treated for venereal disease and 241 for other diseases.³⁴

The origin of venereal disease in the Belingwe District is uncertain. Probably the disease was contracted by African workers in the mine compounds of the Belingwe District itself and the mining compounds of Shabani, Mashaba and Selukwe. On their return home, these workers could have spread the disease to women in the District who in turn spread it to other men in the District. At any rate, according to Dr Tilander, there was a steady increase in the number of V.D. patients treated at Mnene and Masase hospitals between 1932 and 1937 as shown by the following figures:

YEAR	MNENE NO. OF V.D. PATIENTS	MASASE NO. OF V.D. PATIENTS
1932	476	378
1933	551	479
1934	619	475
1935	651	646
1936	683	651
1937	903	790

In 1937 Mnene and Masase hospitals together received a government subsidy of £400 for the feeding of V.D. patients. This amount was clearly insufficient to feed the large number of V.D. patients who needed to be fed. During the year the Swedish Church Mission spent £250 in feeding V.D. patients from its own funds while in 1938 V.D. patients had to be fed for five months on Mission funds. Under the circumstances, Dr Tilander urged the Medical Director to recommend to the Government to take over the whole responsibility for the cost of feeding of V.D. patients at Mnene and Masase hospitals.³⁵

The role played by Mnene and Masase hospitals in the treatment not only of disease in general but also of venereal disease in particular, was emphasised by the Native Commissioner, Belingwe, in 1931. 'The reputation of these hospitals', he wrote, 'has extended far beyond the borders of this district.... I think no praise is too high for the work done at these hospitals'.³⁶

The Church of Sweden also started medical work at Manama mission. The work at Manama was begun by sister Maria Koelqvist with the aid of an African medical assistant who had been trained at Morgenster. The first patient received treatment at Manama on 10th October, 1938 and in 1939 a hospital was erected.³⁷

The Brethren-in-Christ Church started medical work in Zimbabwe when Miss Grace Book, the first registered nurse to serve under the Brethren in Christ Church, was appointed to Mtshabezi in 1924. In 1926 Miss Book married the Revd H.H. Brubaker. She remained in charge of the Mtshabezi mission hospital for about a year after her marriage. After her departure, the hospital was left without a trained nurse. Meanwhile, in 1924 a trained nurse, Martha Kauffman, arrived and was appointed to take charge of the medical work at Matopo mission. In 1928 she was transferred

to Wanezi to care for the General Superintendent, Bishop H. Steigerwald, who was seriously ill. In 1929 after the Bishop died, she was appointed to take charge of the Mtshabezi medical programme.³⁸

Mrs Grace Brubaker did sterling medical work at Matopo mission. In 1929 a total of 1,030 out-patients were treated at Matopo mission hospital of whom 14 were in-patients. The cases seen or cured included: syphilis, malaria fever, coughs, colds, headaches, sores, stomach and bowel trouble, sore throat, pleurisy, pneumonia, chicken pox, boils, ear infections, earache, obstetrical cases, sprains, rheumatism, sore eyes, burns, accident cases, intestinal worms, children's diseases and itching.³⁹

In 1930 a total of 23 in-patients were treated at Matopo mission hospital. The cases seen included pneumonia, stomach trouble, fever, syphilis, accidents, dysentery, children's diseases, boils, sore eyes, obstetrical, fever, itching, sores, earache, nose bleed, neuritis, pleurisy and pneumonia.⁴⁰

In 1931 at least 900 patients were treated at Matopo mission hospital. The cases treated included obstetrical, colds, syphilis, malaria, coughs, pleurisy, itching, stomach trouble, burns, sore eyes, snake bite, blood poisoning, sores, dog bites, mumps, wounds, flu, sprains, dysentery and tuberculosis.⁴¹

From January to March, 1932, 266 out-patients were treated at Matopo mission hospital. The cases treated consisted of asthma, burns, colds, itching, malaria, obstetrics, rheumatism, sores, sore eyes, stomach trouble and syphilis.⁴²

Miss Emma Verda Moyer who arrived in 1933, was largely responsible for building an effective medical programme at Matopo mission. Other nurses who served at Matopo mission were Mrs Esther Mann (1936), Miss Edna Lehman (1938) and Mrs Dorothy Hershey.⁴³ The latter arrived at Matopo mission in January, 1938 to take over the medical work of both the Training and Boarding School and the community round about the mission. She treated the pupils at the mission and people in the immediate vicinity including maternity cases.⁴⁴ Although it lacked a medical doctor, Matopo mission hospital nevertheless rendered valuable medical services to its clients.

The medical work of the Wesleyans at Waddilove was pioneered by Sister Madge Dry. Miss Dry arrived at Salisbury on 31st January, 1927 and commenced work at the Salisbury African Hospital on 1st February, 1927.⁴⁵

After working at the Salisbury African Hospital for about three and a half months in order to gain experience of hospital conditions in Southern Rhodesia, Miss Dry proceeded to Waddilove where she began her nursing duties on 14th May, 1927. Her duties consisted of teaching lessons in Hygiene to the students of the mission; the training of two African nurses and two male orderlies; work in the out-patient department of the mission hospital which averaged about 15 patients per day and care of the sick-room in which male patients were treated.⁴⁶

Writing in 1963 Miss Dry recalled that when she arrived at Waddilove, the only 'hospital' available was the verandah of a small house opposite the Church. Her bedroom served as a ward and the furniture consisted of an iron bedstead and mattress, a rickety table and a basket chair which she had bought at Madeira on her way to Southern Rhodesia; the rest was made up of petrol boxes. Her only equipment was a small medicine cupboard which her father had made for her and a midwifery bag with a very limited supply of bowls, receiver, forceps, etc. Her packing cases made very useful chairs and tables and with these, she was able to fix up a small dispensary on the verandah. She added:

My first patient was a small child suffering from bronchial pneumonia. The mother was willing to stay with the child and I fixed up a wonderful steam tent, with the basket chair. The steam was kept going by the kitchen kettle, the spout of which was extended from the spout of an old unused watering can. With much prayer and work the child recovered and went back home after ten days... As the patients increased it became obvious that the verandah and bedroom were inadequate especially for very ill patients, and after a year the Revd John White found enough money to erect the first little hospital. It was not spacious, consisting of one ward, an outpatients' department, a dispensary, and one room which was meant for a bathroom, but had to be used as a bedroom for my helpers. There was a small bed sitting room for myself. Although small, I shall never forget the thrill of having a place where I could really nurse my patients.... My one room which became my home for seven years, acted as my bedroom, sitting room, dining room, bathroom plus the overflow of patients from the ward. It was not until I had a bad epidemic of dysentery with patients all round me and I became quite ill myself, that the doctor said I must be removed from the Hospital. I lived for a little while in the girls' hostel until the bungalow was built... In the hospital I could only nurse women and children, the men we had to nurse in one of the boys' dormitories. I put this before the Synod and our own minister offered to pay for a small building behind the hospital which greatly

helped us in the nursing. I very much appreciated this gift because our monies were very small in those days, and I knew it meant some sacrifice for some of the ministers.⁴⁷

Miss Dry pioneered the training of African nurses in Southern Rhodesia:

I believe I can boast of being the first nurse in the country to attempt any training of African girls as nurses. For the first year or so I had to do all the nursing myself and only had a girl for cleaning and cooking. Then three girls from the school who had passed Standard 6 asked if they could come to the hospital and learn some nursing. I had so little to offer them, but I felt it was worth trying, so I made a simple syllabus and had regular classes. At the end of three years I felt the nurses must have some recognition of their training, so I wrote to the Medical Department and asked if they would kindly send us a qualified person to come and examine them. They did and were satisfied with the results. We were able to give the nurses a certificate signed by the Waddilove Superintendent, the examiner and myself. This was the beginning of the Nursing Assistant training in the country.⁴⁸

In 1928 four student nurses - Esther Maketo, Barbara Benn, Dinah Mgugu and Lilian Tyeza began a training course in nursing at Waddilove hospital.⁴⁹ At the end of the year, they all passed their examination which was conducted by Dr T.G. Burnet of the Bulawayo General Hospital who commented:

Considered as a whole, the results of this examination reflects great credit on the instructress-Nurse M.P. Dry- and suggests much care and patience... The training of native girls in Nursing should be given every encouragement, and should prove of great benefit not only in the women's wards of Native Hospitals, but in the kraals to which some of these girls will return.⁵⁰

In August, 1929 Sister Dry sent the Medical Director a detailed syllabus of the three-year training course in nursing at Waddilove.

The first year course covered Elementary Anatomy and Physiology and consisted of the following: Simple definitions of Anatomy, Physiology and Skeleton; Three main divisions of the body - (a) Head, (b) Trunk, (c) Extremities; Brief introduction of each system; Osseous System, Vertebral Column, names of vertebrae; Ribs:

Names and position; Shoulder and Pelvic Girdle; Muscular System with names of the chief muscles; Digestive System; Respiratory System; Circulatory system and Blood Circulation; Excretory System; Nervous System; Structure of Teeth-temporary and permanent; Simple Structure of the Eye; Simple Structure of the Ear. The second year course was divided into Medical Nursing and Surgical Nursing. The following were taught in Medical Nursing: Some Children's diseases, Rickets, Convulsions, Enuritis; Infectious diseases, Meaning of infection, Prevention, Disinfectants; Measles; Chicken Pox and Small Pox; Scarlet Fever; Diphtheria; Mumps; whooping Cough; Dysentery and Cholera; Enteric and Typhus Fever; Malaria Fever; Influenza; Skin Diseases; Special care of sick infants; Feeding - (a) Natural, (b) Artificial. The practical work involved assisting in the wards, giving of Enemas, Douches, Salines, making different kinds of bandages, Padding Splint and assisting with dressings.

The second year Surgical Nursing covered the following: Inflammation; Sepsis, Ascpis and Antiseptics; Wounds - various kinds and how to treat them; Haemorrhage; Names of important Arteries and Pressure Points; Shock and Collapse; Unconsciousness- its cause and general treatment ; Fainting, Fits, Hysteria; Concussion and Compression; Various fractures; Special Splints and how to use them; Dislocations and sprains; Burns and Scalds.

The third year course was divided into The Nursing of Acute Cases and Surgical Nursing. The Nursing of Acute Cases covered the following: Pneumonia and Pleurisy; Bronchitis and respiratory Diseases; Tuberculosis and the nursing of: Heart Cases, Acute Nephritis or Bright's disease, Acute Rheumatism, Diabetes, Syphilis, Meningitis, Hemiplegia and Paraplegia, Cancer, Diseases of the Eye, Diseases of the Throat and Diseases of the Ear and Nose. The practical work involved making dressings under supervision, giving of medicines, use of hypodermic syringe, urine testing and writing of reports. The third year Surgical Nursing covered the Nursing of: Appendicitis, Gastric Ulcer, Hernia, Intussusception; Removal of Tonsils and Adenoids; Circumcision; Preparation of Patients for an Operation; Care of Patients returning from Operating Theatre; Names of a few Instruments-how to use and care for them; Preparation of Operating Theatre. In addition, special Midwifery classes for female nurses were given in the third year.⁵¹ This syllabus was as comprehensive as that of Mt. Selinda Hospital.

From the opening of the Waddilove hospital on 23rd November, 1927 to the end of 1928, 109 in-patients and over 3,000 out-patients received medical attention. Among the in-patients, 5 were Midwifery cases 3 of whom were wives of the

evangelists. According to Miss Dry, this gave the opportunity of teaching not only the nurses but also some of the women from the nearby village a better way of bringing children into the world. In addition, each week a Mothercraft class was given. At the end of 1928, the 5 nurses in training - Esther Maketo, Barbara Benn, Dinah Mgugu, Lilian Tyeza and Thomas Ndebele-all passed their examinations.⁵²

In 1929, 109 in-patients and 1,026 out-patients were treated at Waddilove hospital. Three student nurses - Samuel Mantiziba, Laura Moeketsi and Levi Holonga - sat for their first-year examinations and all passed while 6 student nurses - Barbara Benn, Celia Sinyanga, Melia Sinyanga, Lilian Tyeza, Esther Maketo and Thomas Ndebele - passed their second-year examinations. These examinations were set by Miss Rees, Matron-in-Chief of the Southern Rhodesia Hospitals. In her report, Miss Rees said that the students showed extraordinary enthusiasm and in the simple questions on the Ethical side of the work, the girls showed the right spirit and outlook.⁵³

In 1930, 142 in-patients and 1,745 out-patients were treated at Waddilove hospital. In addition, there were 11 Midwifery cases. Five nurses in training sat for their final examination which was conducted by Miss Rees and all passed.⁵⁴ The Government, however, did not recognise Waddilove hospital as a training school for African nurses because there was no medical practitioner attached to the mission and as the hospital was very small with a limited range of diseases treated, it was not considered that an efficient and comprehensive training could be given.⁵⁵ For the same reason, the Government did not grant certificates of training to African nurses who completed their training at Waddilove hospital.⁵⁶ Under the circumstances, Miss Dry did not feel that the mission was justified in accepting girls for a three-year course in nursing if, at the end of it, they had no standing as trained nurses. 'It would probably be best at the moment', she wrote, 'to consider the hospital as a preliminary Training School, and to accept the girls for two years only. After this, it may be possible to enter into some agreement with the Government, and the girls be allowed to complete their training in one of the recognised Training Schools'.⁵⁷

In spite of the failure to get recognition as a training school for African nurses, Waddilove hospital was expanded. Shortly before his death in August, 1933 the Revd John White bequeathed £1,000 for the extension of medical work at Waddilove.⁵⁸ One of the most pressing needs at the hospital was the appointment of a doctor as Sister Dry felt that the responsibility of diagnosis was becoming too great for her. Moreover, if a doctor were appointed, the much needed official nurses' training course could be started. The Waddilove staff meeting suggested the appointment of a doctor who was also an ordained minister so that if at first there was not sufficient work for him at the hospital, he could be employed in other capacities.⁵⁹

In 1937 the Synod decided to proceed with the John White Memorial Hospital and allocated £700 for a men's ward,⁶⁰ and in 1939 the John White Memorial Hospital, consisting of a women's general ward, maternity ward, a labour ward and a babies' nursery, was officially opened⁶¹ by a former Mayoress of Salisbury.⁶²

In subsequent years the Waddilove Hospital provided sorely-needed medical services not only for the Waddilove community but also for the people of the neighbouring Reserve.

The Salvation Army began medical work in Southern Rhodesia when Miss Adjutant A. Battersby, a certificated midwife with experience in general nursing and dispensing, arrived at Howard Institute in March, 1928. The Howard hospital which had 6 beds for in-patients in the main building, was opened on 1st October, 1928. From 1st October to 31st December, 1928, 450 out-patients from nearby villages and 420 out-patient students were treated at Howard hospital while 23 in-patients were treated and 8 maternity cases were attended to. The cases treated consisted of a variety of sicknesses, accident, burns and general complaints.⁶³

In 1930, 1,966 out-patients were treated at Howard hospital. In 1931, 39 in-patients were treated including 4 maternity cases, 2 tubercular cases, 3 pneumonia cases, 4 fever cases, 3 accident cases, 3 eye cases, 1 cerebral malaria, 1 heart case and 2 minor operations; the patients came from 17 different villages. A total of 3,536 out-patients were treated for constipation, ophthalmia, fever, chest complaints, cuts and burns, throats, boils, teeth, rheumatism, skin diseases, wounds and sprains.⁶⁴ During the year, Mrs Mary I. Ryan, S.R.N., was in charge of the hospital.⁶⁵

In 1937 Captain Dora A. Coleman, a fully-qualified nurse, arrived from London and was appointed as nurse to the dispensary at Howard Institute in succession to Captain Mabel Wilkinson who was transferred to Northern Rhodesia.⁶⁶

In 1939 a three-year post Standard 6 training course for African nurses was begun at Howard hospital under Ensign Isabel Sloeman. There were two nurses in training in the first year class.⁶⁷ The course incorporated both general (nursing assistant) and maternity (maternity assistant) nursing.⁶⁸

The Anglicans started medical work among Africans in Southern Rhodesia when Miss L. Adlam, a retired Matron of Salisbury Hospital, joined the staff of St David's mission, Bonda, on 3rd December, 1928.⁶⁹ Miss Adlam was assisted by Miss Harris. The SPG made a grant of £100 towards the completion of a portion of the Bonda Hospital.⁷⁰

In 1929, 3,053 out-patients were treated at Bonda Hospital.⁷¹ In 1930, 54 out-patients were treated for minor ailments. In September, 1930 Miss Adlam left Bonda Hospital; towards the end of the year, Miss Davis took charge.⁷² Because of the unavailability of African women sufficiently qualified to train as nurses at Bonda Hospital, the Hospital was closed for two years (1931-1933).

On 28th November, 1933 the Principal of St David's, Bonda, Mr Harold G. Lawrence, wrote to the Medical Director informing him that Miss Joyce Pukwani, a fully-qualified African nurse from the Union of South Africa, was coming to re-open Bonda Hospital on 1st January, 1934.⁷³ Miss Pukwani duly arrived and started work at Bonda Hospital on 1st January, 1934.⁷⁴

Early in 1937 Dr Denys Taylor started work at Bonda Hospital and Sister Lorna Page arrived soon afterwards.⁷⁵ When Dr Taylor and Sister Page arrived, the hospital buildings consisted of a main block (with two wards and three small rooms) and three huts. The three small rooms in the main building served respectively as an operating theatre, sterilising room and linen room; the largest hut served as a dispensary.

Between April and July, 1937, 14 in-patients and 100 out-patients were treated at Bonda Hospital. On several occasions Dr Taylor and Sister Page were called out to treat patients who were unfit to travel to the hospital. In August, 1937 more out-patients were treated at Bonda Hospital than in the previous four months put together. Patients' complaints consisted of: Chest Troubles - 12%; Gynaecology - 23%; Abdominal Troubles - 3%; Venereal Disease - 20%; Miscellaneous - 41%. Dr Taylor and Sister Page also started training two African nurses. With their assistance Dr Taylor and Sister Page were able successfully to carry out two small operations and several minor ones.⁷⁶

By 1939 a water system was installed at Bonda Hospital and an engine provided electric light for three hours every night. The two wards were grossly overcrowded by this time and a row of five huts was built to accommodate less-ill patients.⁷⁷ Dr Taylor and Sister Page were long remembered for their medical services at Bonda Hospital.

Between 1924 and 1939 the American Methodists not only expanded the medical work they started at Old Umtali and Mutambara during the pioneer period but also started and expanded medical work at Nyadiri mission. We shall now consider the medical contributions of these three mission stations from 1924 to 1939 starting with Old Umtali.

We saw in Chapter 6 how, from 1916 to 1923 the Swedish nurse, Miss Ellen Bjorklund, not only treated patients suffering from divers diseases but also engaged in maternity work and the training of African nurses at the dispensary at Old Umtali.

In 1924 four student nurses were being trained at the dispensary at Old Umtali.⁷⁸ In 1925 according to Miss Bjorklund, the 6 girls in training did excellent work. A total of 5,500 treatments were given including treatments for burns, broken arms, blood poisoning, ptomaine poisoning, bad eyes, sores of all kinds and syphilis.⁷⁹ In 1926 a total of 11,614 treatments for various illnesses were given at the dispensary at Old Umtali.⁸⁰ During the year Miss Ruth Hansson, a trained nurse from Sweden, arrived at Old Umtali and worked with Miss Bjorklund.⁸¹ In 1928 Miss Bjorklund and Miss Hansson gave 3,534 treatments at the dispensary at Old Umtali, assisted in the delivery of 19 baby girls and 21 baby boys and gave extensive training in maternity work to 12 African girls.⁸² From 4th September, 1928 to June, 1929 a total of 8,288 out-patients and 4,169 in-patients were treated at the dispensary at Old Umtali; 31 babies (17 girls and 14 boys) were received into the world and helped to get a start in life; an average of 9 girls were training as nurses.⁸³

In 1929 Sister Oril A. Penney arrived at Old Umtali. She took charge of about 16 orphans; attended to the medical needs of 126 girls at Fairfield Girls' School and assisted Miss Hansson at the Boys' School at Old Umtali when required.⁸⁴

In 1931, 8 girls were in training at the dispensary at Old Umtali 2 of whom were in the second year. There were 50 maternity cases (21 boys and 29 girls). In addition, 6,432 out-patients and 5,850 in-patients or a total of 12,282 patients were treated at the dispensary at Old Umtali.⁸⁵ Of the patients treated, 486 suffered from venereal disease.⁸⁶ In 1932 during the absence on furlough of Sister Hansson, Mrs N.E. Uys took up the work of the dispensary and maternity hospital at Old Umtali.⁸⁷

In 1936 Miss Hansson and Miss I.P. Gugin were in charge of the medical work at Old Umtali. When Miss Gugin went on furlough, the entire burden of work fell to Miss Hansson. This made it impossible to carry on the visitations in the Reserves but Miss Hansson was able to carry on the medical work at Old Umtali and continued to train medical assistants three of whom completed their three-year training course at the end of the year.⁸⁸

In 1937 in spite of the shortage of staff and insufficient accommodation in which to care for the sick, the medical work at Old Umtali went forward. The most prevalent ailments treated during the year were severe sore throats and for several weeks there was a flu epidemic.⁸⁹

In 1938 there were three trained nurses at Old Umtali. Sister I.P. Gugin took care of sick girls at Fairfield Girls' School and the orphanage while Sisters Hansson and Rosa Rydell were in charge of the maternity hospital, the care of the boarding boys and general dispensary work. In addition, the much longed-for maternity hospital building was completed.⁹⁰ On 26th October 1939 Sisters Hansson, Gugin and Rydell moved the maternity cases to the new maternity hospital.⁹¹ The completion of the new maternity hospital opened new vistas for maternity care at Old Umtali.

Meanwhile, at Mutambara mission, the medical work continued to go forward. In 1928 a total of 9,558 out-patient treatments were given at the Mutambara dispensary. This did not include the work done by pastor-teachers who received drugs from the mission. During the year 257 in-patients were cared for including 7 maternity cases. Four maternity cases were also attended to in the neighbouring villages.⁹²

In 1929 Sister Jennie G. Woodruff was in charge of the medical work at Mutambara dispensary. During the year the dispensary cared for 303 in-patients of whom 85 were from nearby villages. Of the 218 female patients, 16 were children while 14 were maternity cases. Of the maternity cases, one case was sent to Umtali Hospital for Caesarian operation due to a peculiar placement of the child. Mother and baby returned to the mission two weeks later for after care before returning home. Of the 80 male patients, 13 were sent to Umtali Hospital for further treatment. A total of 5,199 out-patients were treated including patients suffering from burns, itching, cuts and sores, sore eyes, infection of hands and feet, boils, low temperature malaria, bruises, sprains, sore muscles and colds. Thirty-three European patients were also treated at the dispensary including 2 maternity cases, 20 smallpox inoculations to children, 1 dysentery case, 10 cases of various ailments such as malaria, swollen glands in neck, rash and infected fingers. Two full-time African nurses were employed at the dispensary. One man and his wife were employed as full-time workers. The man assisted with the general work while his wife who had six years of training with Miss Bjorklund at Old Umtali, assisted in the maternity work. Dr Jackson of Umtali was most helpful in advising Miss Woodruff how to treat difficult cases and sometimes came to the mission when cases were too serious to send to Umtali Hospital.⁹³

In 1930 during Miss Woodruff's absence on furlough, Mrs Uys from Old Umtali, served at the Mutambara dispensary. During the year, 5,231 out-patients, 1,783 in-patients and 14 obstetrical cases were treated at the dispensary.⁹⁴ In 1931 there were 3 trained nurses at Mutambara dispensary - Mrs Uys, Mrs Helliwell and Miss Gugin. During the year there were the usual illnesses treated at the dispensary - malaria,

influenza, pneumonia, sores, syphilis, burns, malnutrition, sprains, pleurisy, tonsillitis, rheumatism and one case of small pox. The Government Medical Officer, Dr Macrae, visited the dispensary once a month.⁹⁵ During the year 414 in-patients, 4,616 out-patients and 20 venereal disease patients were treated at the dispensary. In the Maternity Department 8 babies were born.⁹⁶

In 1933 Miss Gugin was in charge of the medical work at Mutambara dispensary. According to the Superintendent of the Mutambara District, the Revd G.A. Roberts, there was an increase in the number of patients receiving medical treatment, steady growth in the confidence of the people and a surprising number of patients came from long distances for medical care.⁹⁷

During the first half of 1934 Miss Gugin was in charge of medical work at Mutambara dispensary. According to the Revd G.A. Roberts, the dispensary was often full of in-patients; many out-patients were cared for and trips were made to Europeans who needed medical treatment. There were sometimes more than 40 in-patients.⁹⁸ In 1935 Miss Oril A. Penney took charge of the Mutambara dispensary. 'The medical work managed and cared for by Miss Penney', the Revd G.A. Roberts reported, 'has been great. Both European and native people have been doctored and nursed... the entire neighbourhood of both races has flocked to the mission for advice as well as medicine'.⁹⁹

In 1936, according to the Revd G.A. Roberts, there was a new willingness on the part of the Africans to come to the Mutambara dispensary; hundreds had been treated and many sets of twins had been saved at the dispensary. Miss Penney continued to do splendid work for the people of the Mutambara District. One woman who had been on her back for seven years, unable to help herself, had been healed and had gone to her home and was well enough to do things for herself. Another invalid, helpless for four years, had gone home and became a useful person again.¹⁰⁰

In 1937 according to the Revd G.A. Roberts, the medical work of the Mutambara District and vicinity had increased to such proportions that it had completely outgrown the Mutambara mission Medical Department. From 1st January to September, 1937 over 11,000 out-patients and about 500 in-patients had been treated. He added:

White man's medicine and treatment are far superior to those of the witch doctor... many people that have been to many witch doctors and have spent much money yet have not been benefitted by their treatment, have come to

our dispensaries and hospitals and in a very short time have gone home cured. Patients, who in times past have been left to die, are being brought to us for help, and in the majority of cases have been healed. Babies full of disease and starving for lack of medical aid and proper food are restored to strong happy ones to the delight and wonder of their parents.¹⁰¹

This was, however, a simplification of a complicated situation. According to Gelfand, the African regarded the missionary as a spiritual person comparable to his own *n'anga* and believed that he had the same powers of healing. "The only difference he could see was that the white man knew a different set of medicines, so he was anxious to try the new remedies".¹⁰²

For the remainder of 1937 Miss Penney continued with the ministry of healing at Mutambara dispensary; she was assisted by two African helpers, an orderly and a woman trained in medical work and midwifery. The orderly - Lazarus Chikonzo - had one year of training under Dr S.R. Montgomery at Washburn Memorial Hospital at Nyadiri mission in 1926. From there he went to Umtali Hospital where he had one year of training under Dr Jackson after which he served as head orderly. In 1935 he completed two years of training under Sister Ruth Hansson at Old Umtali where he also completed Standard VI. In that year he joined Miss Penney at Mutambara dispensary. The African woman helper - Esther Machiri - had passed Standard IV at Old Umtali and had been trained in general medical work and midwifery at Old Umtali under Miss Hansson. She completed three years of training and passed the examinations set by Sister Hansson¹⁰³ and her name was recorded in the Public Health Department register of African nurses in respect of whom a grant was payable in terms of Section 8, sub-section 2(c) and 2(d) of Government Notice No. 543 of 1928. Accordingly, Mr W.G. Walton, on behalf of the Medical Director, informed Miss Penney that the Government would pay Miss Machiri a grant of £12 for each year of completed service at Mutambara dispensary.¹⁰⁴ By the end of 1937 Mutambara dispensary had 18 beds¹⁰⁵ and according to Dr J. Montgomery of Umtali Government Hospital, the work was done under satisfactory conditions.¹⁰⁶ In accordance with Government Notice No. 543 of 1928 the Medical Director approved of a grant of £3 in respect of each of the 18 beds maintained by Miss Penney during the year.¹⁰⁷

In 1938 according to the Superintendent of the Mutambara District, the Revd E.L. Sells, the work of the Mutambara dispensary continued to grow in spite of the fact that the staff was very small. The accommodation for patients, both medical and maternity, was taxed to the limit. He added:

We feel that the work of the Dispensary is very important in that many of our patients are heathen people. We are not here to merely minister to the body but along with that task to heal the spiritual illness that is the cause of so much of the physical. We all know that the missionaries in these days of heavy programs and short staff do not have the opportunities they once had of village visitation and personal work. In our hospitals and dispensaries we have an increasing opportunity of doing this kind of work. We are making every effort to care for those who come seeking our help.¹⁰⁸

Meanwhile, in June, 1923 the American Methodists decided to start the first units of a new hospital at Nyadiri mission. The two buildings decided upon were a thirty by forty foot dispensary and a house thirty by seventy feet as a residence for the doctor and accommodation for white patients. The Revd L. E. Tull in conjunction with Dr Gurney were appointed to do this work and accordingly proceeded to Nyadiri to do some preliminary surveying as soon as the Conference of that year was over. This took about a week after which the committee on the Nyadiri work held a meeting at Nyadiri and selected a site for the buildings. As the site selected was bare veld, the erection of grass huts to live in and the clearing of the site were necessary preliminaries. After this, work on the buildings was started and went ahead rapidly to completion. Bricks had previously been made and burned under the supervision of Revd T.A. O'Farrell and other materials were ordered in advance so that there could be no delay on this account.

By the end of November, both buildings were roofed and the interior woodwork was well under way. An experienced local painter and carpenter was secured and the work progressed during the Christmas season and the early part of the new year while Revd Tull was away at a Finance Committee Meeting. By the time he got back, most of the interior woodwork was in place and part of it was painted and by the beginning of February, 1924 the buildings were so nearly finished that there was no necessity for Revd Tull remaining longer since Dr Gurney with the help of the painter would have no difficulty in completing the work.¹⁰⁹

The Washburn Memorial Hospital was opened in 1924. When Dr Gurney died in Salisbury Hospital on 3rd August, 1924 he was replaced by Dr Stanley R. Montgomery who was appointed to Nyadiri Hospital in August, 1925.¹¹⁰ In 1926 Miss Ona Parmenter was appointed to Nyadiri Hospital.¹¹¹ Dr Montgomery left for home in December, 1927 after only two years of service and the medical work at Nyadiri was left in the hands of Miss Parmenter.¹¹²

During the year ending 30th June, 1928 a total of 400 in-patients and 4,222 out-patients were treated at Nyadiri Hospital. Many patients returned several times, making a total treatment list of 11,495; this did not include 500 or more treatments given on trips to the villages.¹¹³ In 1929, 2,683 patients were treated at Nyadiri Hospital. Many returned for further treatment, making the treatment list for the year 6,390; of this number, 287 were in-patients.¹¹⁴

In April, 1931 Miss Alice Whitney arrived at Nyadiri mission to take up medical work when Miss Parmenter was obliged to go on furlough.¹¹⁵ During the year 2,522 patients were seen at the Hospital of whom 467 were in-patients, 2,005 were out-patients and 50 were venereal disease patients.¹¹⁶

In 1932 according to the Superintendent of the Mtoko District, the Revd W. Bourgaize, the medical work at Nyadiri under the able management of Miss Alice Whitney, had increased to such an extent that the housing capacity of the medical department was taxed to the limit on more than one occasion. He added:

A three-room brick building formerly used as a teacher's residence is now being used as a boarding girls' dispensary. A similar building is urgently needed for the sick boys. At present the Kitchen of the Doctor's house is being used for this purpose. A class in Hygiene for the Location Women, formerly taught in the school, now meets at the Dispensary for instruction by Miss Whitney. Three days a week, classes for instruction in nursing and the dispensing of medicine are given. And best of all - many of the patients go away healed in soul as well as in body through the faithful teaching and the consistent life of the Nurse in Charge.¹¹⁷

During the year there were 953 in-patients and over 20,000 treatments were given to out-patients; four well-qualified African nurses assisted in the work. The addition of one new African nurse had enabled the nurses to make more calls upon the sick in the villages. Calls for medical aid occasionally came from Europeans and Miss Whitney responded by going to their assistance.¹¹⁸

In 1934 according to the Superintendent of Nyadiri District, the Revd T.A. O'Farrell, the dispensary at Nyadiri was sometimes crowded to the limit. People were coming from both Maramba and Fungwi Reserves, far to the north. 'The kind ministry of healing and the Christian services as well', he reported, 'are giving many people their first impression of the Christ. I am constantly meeting such people at stations and in the villages'. The dispensary was thoroughly repaired and its efficiency increased. From January to March, Miss Whitney took a mid-term holiday and Miss Gugin took

her place during that time. The Government Physician continued his helpful co-operation by visiting Nyadiri Hospital once a week.¹¹⁹

In 1935 the medical work at Nyadiri continued to minister to both bodies and souls. There was an average of 24 in-patients and a total of 19,214 out-patient treatments given during the year.¹²⁰

In 1937, Dr S.H. Low, a Christian lady doctor from Cape Town, was appointed Resident Physician for Washburn Memorial Hospital.¹²¹ Dr Low was subsidised by the Government and had charge of the Mrewa Dispensary as well as other work in the Mrewa and Mtoko Districts. Unfortunately, after one year of service, Dr Low returned to the Union of South Africa to get married and once more, Nyadiri Hospital was without a resident doctor.¹²² In spite of this, the medical work at Nyadiri Hospital continued to grow steadily; in 1939 more than 100 patients were admitted into the Hospital.¹²³ It is clear that Old Umtali, Mutambara and Nyadiri provided valuable medical services to the people of the districts in which they were located.

The Catholics also engaged in medical work during this period. On 27th January, 1928 Dr Johann Pattis, the first Catholic medical missionary among Africans in Southern Rhodesia, arrived at Triashill mission and the building of the dispensary was commenced. After Dr Pattis moved to Mtoko in June, 1928 Sister Ennatha was left in charge of the medical work at Triashill. The number of in-and out-patients at Triashill dispensary increased from 126 in 1932 to about 200 in 1934. In 1937 Sister Vincentia, a qualified nurse, arrived at Triashill.¹²⁴ Thereafter, the work went steadily forward.

The South African General mission began medical work at Rusitu mission in 1923. In 1931, a total of 2,365 patients were treated at Rusitu hospital; of these, 2,238 were treated at the dispensary; 63 were syphilitic cases and 64 were admitted into the hospital. In addition, 26 patients who were too ill to come to the hospital, were visited in their homes; 93 patients were treated at the outstations.¹²⁵

In 1933 Mrs Katie Legg, a qualified nurse, arrived at Rusitu. When she arrived, there were two mud huts for in-patients, then two two-roomed Kimberley brick buildings were built and later a fairly large burnt-brick building was erected. A sizeable number of in-patients consisted of students of the mission. Initially, there were few maternity cases but these gradually increased. In addition, Mrs Klegg made frequent visits to the sick in far-away villages.¹²⁶ In 1938 a total of 4,200 patients were treated at Rusitu hospital; of these, 4,020 were out-patients and 180 were in-patients. In addition, 30 patients were treated at their homes.¹²⁷

This concludes our study of the medical contributions of the various Christian denominations among Africans in Zimbabwe from 1924 to 1939.

An assessment of the medical contributions of the various Christian denominations among Africans in Zimbabwe during this period, is fraught with difficulties. Firstly, as we have seen, some patients repeatedly returned to the hospital or dispensary for further treatment; the *total treatments* given, therefore, did not necessarily reflect the *number of patients* treated. Secondly, some patients after initial treatment, did not return for a full course of treatment; their fate is therefore unknown. Thirdly, some patients hedged their bets and went both to the mission hospitals or dispensaries *and* to the traditional healers. In the event of recovery, it was difficult to determine which of the two medical agencies - Western or traditional - was responsible for such recovery. Fourthly, although missionary doctors and nurses treated thousands of African patients from the beginnings of medical missions among Africans in 1893 to 1939, there are no figures available to determine the percentage of those cured relative to the total African population of the particular district in which a particular hospital or dispensary was located or relative to those who sought medical treatment at Government hospitals or dispensaries.

Nevertheless, it is clear that medical missionaries not only relieved a great deal of suffering among Africans in colonial Zimbabwe especially in the rural areas where initially Government hospitals and clinics were either very few or non-existent but also trained African nurses and orderlies at their mission hospitals. The work of Dr Helm among the lepers at Morgenster was a shining example of Christian compassion for the outcasts of African society in colonial Zimbabwe. The acceptance of Western medicine by Africans in colonial Zimbabwe, however, did not mean that the Africans of Zimbabwe had lost faith in their traditional doctors but that in the treatment of certain illnesses, for example, those which required an operation under local or general anaesthetic, Western medical technology proved superior to traditional remedies.¹²⁸

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Chapter 9

Great Strides Forward, 1924-1939

We saw in Chapter 4 that by 1923 a sizeable number of Africans in Zimbabwe had embraced the Christian faith both at the level of the chiefs and at the level of the individual. In this Chapter we shall consider the rules and regulations governing membership in the various churches including the grounds for discipline and the churches' attitude towards polygamy and the *lobola/roora* system; the growth and expansion of the Christian community among Africans in Zimbabwe; the training of African priests, ministers and pastors; women's organisations; and the role of camp meetings in the growth and expansion of the Christian community among Africans in Zimbabwe between 1924 and 1939.

I

Rules and Regulations Governing Church Membership, Discipline and the Churches' Attitude Towards Polygamy and the Lobola/Roora System

All the Christian churches in Zimbabwe laid down rules and regulations governing church membership. We shall consider these rules and regulations in detail.

In the Salvation Army, the converts after professing conversion, were required to attend weekly training classes for a period of twelve months at the end of which, if found to be satisfactory, were accepted into full membership; careful consideration was given in each case by the District Superintendent.

The American Board Mission required candidates for membership in the American Congregational Church to start in the Inquirers' Class in which the candidates were given an oral examination by the Church Deacons at the end of the first year, followed by baptism. At the end of the second year, the probationers were given another oral examination and after formal acceptance into the Church, were allowed to partake of Holy Communion and vote; a set course of lessons was given and the classes were required to meet usually every Sunday.

The South African General Mission required candidates for church membership to spend at least one year in a Baptismal Class; after this, they were required to present themselves individually before a committee composed of African members of the Church; any missionaries present did so only in an advisory capacity. Candidates were questioned regarding their conversion and were asked to state the Fundamental Teachings of the Christian faith, that is to say, the way of salvation, the power of the Blood, the Work of the Holy Spirit and to quote Scripture verses supporting these beliefs. They were then questioned closely regarding their attitude to 'heathen customs'; the committee also enquired into the candidates' manner of life since becoming Christians.

In the American Methodist Episcopal Church, after a candidate had given evidence of conversion, he or she was placed in the Beginners' Class. Class meetings were to be held once a week and the beginner was required to attend class meetings for at least a year. If at the end of one year he passed an examination, he was admitted into the Preparatory Membership Class; he was required to attend class meetings for at least two years. He was then examined; the results were reported to the meeting of Church officials who assessed the candidate's suitability for church membership.

In the Anglican Church, candidates for baptism were admitted to the 'Hearers' class for one year. They were instructed in the Catechism of the Church of the Province of South Africa and were required to be able to read before admission to the Catechumenate. Before admission to the Catechumenate, each candidate was interviewed privately by the priest in regard to personal character and fitness, ability to read simple sentences and whether the candidate was married, single or engaged to be married. Two years of further instruction were required before baptism during which period candidates were required to read the Gospels with sufficient fluency and to follow the church services; the Catechism formed the basis of instruction. Before admission to Holy Communion, each candidate was interviewed privately by the priest; wherever circumstances allowed, attendance at a final series of classes for a fortnight before baptism at a central mission station, was required.

In the Roman Catholic Church, the normal period of training for membership was two years; in some cases, it was longer; during this period, candidates were instructed in the Catholic faith.

In the Dutch Reformed Church, candidates for membership, after confessing conversion, were allowed to join the Church as Catechumens; the period of training was three years except for old people who were required to train for two years. The

catechumens were required to abstain from intoxicating drinks and from marriage according to 'heathen customs'; the Church insisted on marriage by Christian rites.

In the Brethren In Christ Church, those who wished to become members were required to attend a Catechumen Class for a period of two years prior to baptism. Conditions for membership included monogamy except in the case of women who might have entered a polygamous state while in 'heathen darkness'; total abstinence, non-use of tobacco, chastity; financial support of the Church; non-participation in dancing; modesty in dress; obedience to Church rules and marriage by Christian rites.

The London Missionary Society required those who wished to become members to attend a Catechumen class regularly for two or three years; the period of training depended on local circumstances. Conditions for membership included monogamy, total abstinence, chastity, financial support of the Church, loyalty to the Church, obedience to Church rules and marriage according to Christian rites.

The rules for membership of the Church of Sweden prescribed a period of instruction and 'trial', extending to about three years. The instruction was mainly in the hands of the evangelist-teachers who were to gather the candidates at their respective centres twice a week, on Sundays mornings for the reading and explanation of a Gospel or an Epistle and on a weekday for instruction in the Catechism with related Bible stories. For baptism, the recommendation of the Church elders was considered valuable.

In the Seventh Day Adventist Church, persons coming from 'heathenism' were kept in a Hearers' Class for one year after which they spent one year in a Probationer's Class before being baptised and then only if evidence of true conversion could be seen in their lives. 'The class members before baptism', the rules stated, 'must believe: (a) in salvation from sin through Christ; (b) in the new birth; (c) in the second imminent coming of Christ; (d) must believe and obey the Ten Commandments; (e) observe a seventh day Sabbath; (f) must discard strong drink, tobacco in all forms, and hemp; (g) must have nothing to do with witchcraft, spirit worship, or the wearing of charms; (h) refrain from Dancing; (i) must pay tithe and offerings; respect the Government, obey its laws, except when such obedience would cause violations of one of God's precepts'.

In the Wesleyan Methodist Church, all who wished to join the Church were placed in Classes 'On Trial'. After they had satisfied their minister as to their sincerity and knowledge, they were received into Full Membership. The length of probation was

to be decided by the Minister in charge, in conjunction with the Class leader, account being taken of the fitness of each candidate; the minimum period was two years. The solemnisation of marriage according to Christian rites, was obligatory on all persons desiring to become full members of the Methodist Church, except in the case of the first wife of a non-Christian, who might be received 'on trial' and later baptised and received into full membership if her husband persistently refused to be married by Christian rites. In classes for the instruction of candidates for baptism, care was to be taken that they had some knowledge of the Scriptural way of salvation and were acquainted with the rules of the Church. The committing to memory of a few of the doctrinal passages of the Scripture, was advocated, together with the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. Every candidate was required to promise to refrain from drinking and selling strong beer, attendance at beer drinks and 'heathen dances'.¹

All the churches also laid down grounds for discipline in order to deal with those members who broke church rules and regulations.

In the Salvation Army, the grounds for discipline included 'persistence in open backsliding, or being faulty of flagrant sin, persistence in conscious wrongdoing after being remonstrated with'.

In the American Board Mission, grounds for discipline included 'any conspicuous act contrary to good Church morality or failure to support the Church over a long period'.

In the South African General Mission, adultery and polygamy were the chief grounds of severance from the Church; a man who showed that he had backslidden and regularly attended beer drinks or prayed to the spirits, or consulted 'witchdoctors', was excommunicated.

In the American Methodist Episcopal Church, some of the more common grounds for excommunication were adultery, drunkenness, the use of tobacco and stealing.

In the Anglican Church, marriage with a deceased wife's sister, with a deceased husband's brother, and marriage of divorced persons, were forbidden by church law. The marriage of a Christian to someone who was not yet baptised and admitted as a Catechumen, was forbidden and those who contracted such a marriage, were liable to censure. Dispensations might be granted by the Bishop to enable a Christian to marry an unbaptised person. No Christian was permitted to marry a 'heathen' or a polygamist; those disregarding regulations in regard to marriage, as well as those

living together in sin, were put under penance and suspended from the Sacraments. All those who broke the above rules and regulations were suspended from Holy Communion; formal excommunication, however, might be pronounced by the Bishop after every endeavour had been made to ascertain the facts.

In the Roman Catholic Church, there was provision for excommunication but this was rarely used. If a member was not a good practising Catholic, he might be disciplined in some such way as being required to stand at the back of the church near the door during Mass. A man who had given grave cause of scandal, was forbidden from presenting himself to receive Holy Communion; a member who had lapsed would not be regarded as having forfeited his membership; he was termed a 'non-practising Catholic'.

In the Dutch Reformed Church, members who disobeyed Church rules were censured for six months, twelve months or more; after five years of living in sin, they might be severed altogether from church membership. Church officials, however, first sent a written warning and an invitation to such a member to come back. If a severed member desired to come back, he or she was required to go through the full course of three years of training in the Catechism before he or she could be admitted again as a full member.

In the Brethren in Christ Church, violation of the requirements for church membership made the offender liable to discipline; if a member, after due warning, persisted in violating the requirements for church membership, he was severed from the Church. If a member contracted a polygamous marriage or was found guilty of immorality, he was immediately expelled from the Church.

The London Missionary Society severed from the church any member who contracted a polygamous marriage or was found guilty of immorality.

The Church of Sweden had no code of sins for which a member was disciplined but any 'notorious sin' might cause his expulsion from Holy Communion; such cases were reported to the Church Council and every case was dealt with according to the circumstances. If a member deliberately persisted in his sinful ways and especially if he turned to polygamy, he was severed from the Church.

In the Seventh Day Adventist Church, anyone found guilty of drinking and smoking, witchcraft, Sabbath desecration and dancing, was suspended from the Church for a time; if he or she did not discontinue these acts, he or she was dropped from the

Church. Anyone who broke the seventh commandment including contracting a polygamous marriage, was dropped from the Church. However, those who had been severed from the Church, were accepted back into the Church after they had shown evidence of contrition for a period of from one to two years and then usually by re-baptism.

In the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the practice known as *kutizisa* (elopement marriage) was strongly condemned; those guilty of participating in this custom were immediately expelled from the Church. A full member guilty of a minor offence was to remain in the fellowship of the Church but would be reduced to a member 'on trial' for a time. A full member guilty of a serious offence was to be removed from membership and readmitted as a member 'on trial' when there were 'definite signs of repentance and reformation'. A member 'on trial' guilty of a minor offence was to be talked with 'lovingly and yet firmly' and if the minister deemed it necessary, the period 'on trial' for membership might be extended. A member 'on trial' guilty of a serious offence, was to be removed from membership and might not be readmitted until there were 'definite signs of repentance and reformation'.²

Reference has already been made to abstention from taking intoxicating drinks as one of the conditions for church membership in the Dutch Reformed Church and in the Seventh Day Adventist Church. We should consider the attitude of the other churches to the taking of intoxicating drinks in some detail.

In the Salvation Army, the taking of intoxicating drinks, was absolutely forbidden; no one could be received by the Salvation Army in any stage of membership while taking intoxicating drinks. The American Board Mission forbade the taking of intoxicating drinks; however, there was no strict enforcement of this rule. African members of the South African General Mission were united in their opposition to the consumption of strong drinks. In the American Methodist Episcopal Church, drunkenness was a ground for discipline. The Anglican Church encouraged sobriety among its members. Though drunkenness was not the worst of sins, the Church stated, it was one of 'the most ruinous in its human consequences'. The Church, therefore, forbade teachers from organising gatherings for purposes of beer drinking or to drink at such gatherings; it further instructed teachers to emphasise the importance of maintaining Christian control in the matter of strong drink. The Catholic Church discouraged its members from taking strong drinks. In the Brethren in Christ Church, the brewing and drinking of beer were forbidden; exception was made in the case of women who had 'heathen husbands' who demanded brewing of beer and would not free their wives from it. The London Missionary Society forbade

members from brewing or purchasing beer; in certain cases where a Christian woman was compelled to brew beer by her non-Christian husband, she was allowed to become an associate member, attending church services but without the full privileges of Church membership.

In the Wesleyan Methodist Church, candidates for full membership were required to give a solemn pledge to abstain from drinking or selling strong beer and from attendance at beer drinks even as spectators; failure to keep this pledge would lead to forfeiture of Church membership.³ In the Epworth Circuit, the rules and regulations pertaining to the brewing, drinking and selling of beer, were strictly enforced. In 1928, for example, a Local Preacher was struck off from the Church register for brewing and selling beer.⁴ Similarly, in 1929 a Local Preacher was struck off from the list of Local Preachers for beer drinking.⁵

The various churches also laid down rules and regulations covering polygamy and the *lobola* system. We shall first consider the rules and regulations pertaining to polygamy.

We saw in Chapter 4 that missionaries regarded polygamy as a 'heathen' African custom which they were determined to extirpate on the grounds, *inter alia*, that it was not only contrary to Christian teachings but was also a major source of exploitation of wives by a polygamous husband. We saw how the missionaries unsuccessfully attempted to enlist Government support in order to suppress polygamy by force. For this reason, polygamy persisted and for this reason, also, the various churches drew up rules and regulations to deal with the practice.

The Salvation Army insisted on monogamy as a condition for church membership. If, however, a convert had more than one wife, he was not permitted to add to the number; he might become a church member but was not entitled to hold any local office.

The American Board forbade Christians from practising polygamy and polygamists were not allowed to join the American Congregational Church; in the American Methodist Episcopal Church, polygamy was a ground for discipline.

In the Anglican Church, a polygamist could not be admitted to Holy Baptism without the sanction of the Bishop given in writing, that is, by dispensation. The Church required a Christian who inherited wives under tribal custom, to put them away and make satisfactory provision for them; a Christian ignoring this rule, was put under

penance. A Christian lapsing into polygamy was, in Church law, committing concubinage as his Christian marriage made him incapable of contracting another *valid* marriage.

In the Roman Catholic Church, polygamy was prohibited. The Dutch Reformed Church required members to be married by Christian rites; polygamy was considered as falling back into 'heathendom'.

In the Brethren In Christ Church, polygamists were not granted Church membership; they were required to put away all but the first wife and provide adequate support for them and their children. Marriage by Christian rites was required of those who wished to join the Church.

The London Missionary Society prohibited polygamy for church members; a man seeking to be a Christian was required to cleave to his first wife and put the others aside, making provision for their material welfare; a woman living in a polygamous state was required to leave her husband before being admitted as a Church member.

In the Church of Sweden, a member who turned to polygamy was severed from the Church. Polygamists who became converted but found themselves unable to throw away their other wives might, in exceptional cases and after a trial period of at least five years, be baptised but would not be given any position of trust or leadership in the Church.

In the Seventh Day Adventist Church, anyone who became a polygamist after conversion, was not accepted as a member until he abandoned polygamy.

In the Wesleyan Methodist Church, a polygamist might be accepted as a member 'on trial' and if he fulfilled his Christian obligation in respect of a monogamous marriage with the first wife and in making satisfactory provision for the other wives and their children, he might be baptized and received as a full church member. The second and subsequent wife of a polygamist who understood her husband's Christian obligation to put her away and gave her consent thereto, might be received as a member 'on trial' but might not be received as a full member as long as the polygamous marriage continued.⁶

We saw in Chapter 4 that missionaries denounced the *lobola* system because they regarded it as buying and selling of women and urged the Government to suppress the institution by force. But, as with polygamy, the Government refused to co-

operate with the missionaries in suppressing the institution by force. For this reason, the practice persisted and for this reason also, the various churches drew up rules and regulations in order to deal with it.

The Salvation Army discouraged *lobola* where possible. The American Board Mission was initially opposed to the *lobola* system and refused to employ teachers and evangelists who would not promise to take a stand against it. However, it was found impossible to enforce this rule. Consequently, although *lobola* was frowned upon, there was no official prohibition.

The South African General Mission was opposed to the *lobola* system; however, while some church members condemned it, others countenanced it. The Mission stated: 'There is almost always a heathen relative who supposedly receives *lobola* and it is a very difficult matter to deal with. As a Mission we have fought against the practice for we have seen nothing but evil come of it'.

In the American Methodist Episcopal Church, the large majority of missionaries were opposed to the *lobola* system; some African ministers were opposed to it but the majority was in favour of it.

The Anglican Church recognised *lobola* as an ingrained African custom. 'Where *lobola* has not been arranged', it stated, 'tribal custom will repudiate the marriage and sooner or later difficulties will arise'. At the same time, the Church stated that Christians who received *lobola* from a 'heathen' or excommunicated person as a preliminary to marriage or in any way pledging their daughters or wards to marriage with such a person, would be put under church discipline. The Roman Catholic Church was opposed to the *lobola* system and condemned the practice of demanding excessive *lobola*. The Dutch Reformed Church forbade Christian parents from taking *lobola* for their daughters but it was found impossible to enforce this rule. The Brethren In Christ Church discouraged excessive *lobola* charges. In the London Missionary Society, *lobola* was discouraged but was not prohibited. The Wesleyan Methodist Church thoroughly disapproved of the practice of Christian parents demanding excessive *lobola* and courtship fees for their daughters.⁷

We have seen that many churches in Zimbabwe during this period, urged their members not to take *lobola* on the marriage of their daughters. According to the Revd W.R. Peadar, the churches' opinions on this matter were totally ignored. 'Christian as well as non-Christians', he observed, 'continued to take *lobola* for their daughters... African ministers in churches which demanded that they promise not to take

lobola for their daughters, did so with their tongues in their cheeks and took *lobola* in spite of their promises'.⁸ Because of the difficulty of enforcement, the fact that *lobola* was an ingrained African custom and the fact that African church members themselves were divided on the issue, the churches shifted the debate from opposition to *lobola in principle* to opposition to *excessive lobola* charges.

Thus, at the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference of 1930, the Revd T.A. O'Farrell of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, proposed a resolution urging the Government to limit *lobola* charges; the resolution was carried unanimously.⁹

In 1932 the Executive of the Missionary Conference made a similar request. In response to this request, the Minister of Native Affairs, after careful consideration and discussion with the Chief Native Commissioner who, in turn had consulted with his senior officials in the various districts, regretted that he was not able to agree with the suggestion to limit *lobola* charges.

Some of the grounds upon which the Minister based his decision included 'the impossibility of enforcing limitation, which was tried before, and merely brought the law into contempt'. He added:

It was found that sons-in-law prefer secretly to pay whatever is demanded rather than incur the displeasure of their parents-in-law. It is not considered correct that prohibitive demands are leading to refusal of young men to marry. Where this occurs, it is due to excessive demands of girls before they will consent to marry a man. A girl will not marry a man unless he relieves her of most of the work it had been customary for women to do... cattle owned by Natives have increased from 652,776 in 1919 to 1,495,803 in 1929. It would thus seem that natives are well able to afford to pay more in cattle than formerly... It is considered that the matter will right itself in time... In fact, it was stated that the matter already shows a tendency to adjust itself, and that the amount of *lobola* demanded, shows a downward trend... While the chiefs of the Charter district appear to have asked for limitation, the demand is by no means universal. A Matabele chief questioned on the subject, replied, 'Why interfere with our domestic affairs?' Experience has shown that the interference with established Native Customs is seldom successful.¹⁰

Not only was the Government unwilling to interfere with an established African custom; some African church members supported the continuance of *lobola* in a modified form. For example, African members of the Dutch Reformed Church agreed that excessive *lobola* charges should not be permitted by the Church. But 95% of them asked to be permitted some sort of *lobola*, from which all objectionable elements had been removed. These Christians based their request on the following grounds: *lobola* was a very old national custom with which they did not like to part; girls objected to a marriage where *lobola* had not been paid as such a marriage seemed illegal and of an inferior kind; a woman for whom *lobola* was demanded and paid, would not so easily prove unfaithful as her relatives would always encourage her to be faithful lest they would have to find and return the *lobola* that had been paid for her; where *lobola* had been omitted, the wife was generally lazy, disobedient and disrespectful; a husband who had paid *lobola* would be more careful how he treated his wife; if it could be proved that he was the cause of her deserting him, he would have no claim on the *lobola* originally paid by him. These Christians felt that they had a just claim to some remuneration for all the expense and trouble they had had in bringing up the girl and that if this reasonable request was ignored, *lobola* would increasingly continue to be received secretly to their own spiritual ruin.¹¹

To this, the European members of the Executive of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference argued, *inter alia*, that: many old established customs in the world had been thrown overboard because it was found to be more convenient to do without them; the number of *lobolaed* women who had turned unfaithful, and in many cases divorced, was amazingly great; the original cause for which *lobola* was instituted, namely, to maintain a numerical equilibrium between tribes and families, did not exist any more. They pointed out that in the past, greatness and strength among African tribes, depended on numbers, that is to say, the number of wives, children and spearmen and that the old tribal wars having ceased, there was no longer any need for *lobola*.

They further argued that: to expect some form of remuneration for the trouble and expense the parents had had in raising their daughters, was lowering the ideal even beneath that which 'heathen' parents had originally and that compensation was the naked fact to which *lobola* had been reduced; *lobola* had not only lowered the status of women in African society but had also made women perpetual minors who could not have possessions and could not inherit, not even their own children; a father who took *lobola* for his daughter, did not realise that she was of priceless value and she would remain his daughter and he has acquired, in addition, a son, on whom he might come to depend in old age; even a 'clean *lobola*', if permitted, would retard the rise

of women to the status of equality with their husbands. Having failed to reach a consensus, the Executive of the Missionary Conference decided to appoint a committee 'representative of different societies to investigate the desirability or otherwise of allowing Native Christians to receive *lobola* for their sisters and daughters, either wholly or in a restricted form, and report to the Executive of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference on their findings not less than six months before the next Conference'.¹²

The *Lobola* Committee referred to above, was duly constituted and was chaired by the Revd H.C. Hugo of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Revd Hugo drafted a questionnaire and sent it to various missionary societies requesting them to investigate and report upon the amount of *lobola* paid in their areas; whether the amount was decreasing; the type of presents which a young man intending to get married, would have to give to his bride-to-be and to his parents-in-law in addition to *lobola*; whether the amount should be limited; whether the wealth of the Africans had increased more than their needs and what the churches could do to deal with the problem.

The most detailed reply to the questionnaire was submitted by the Revd V.R. Rickland of the Swedish Church Mission based in Gwanda District.

In his reply, Rickland said that in the Gwanda and Belingwe Districts (inhabited by Ndebele, Karanga, Sotho and Venda tribes), the *maximum* amount of *lobola* in cases investigated, was 25 head of cattle; the usual number was 6 or 7 head; the amount was certainly *not* decreasing. 'The general tendency', he said, 'seems to be to depart more and more from the original idea of *lobola* as being a tie of friendship, to maintain the equilibrium between two family groups. Under the influence of European business ideas and under the necessity of meeting the ever-growing needs of European articles of clothing, ploughs, carts, etc., it is only natural, that such an important source of income as *lobola* is being made use of increasingly... When remembering the tendency, one can easily understand the opposition from the old headmen against any attempt to interfere with *lobola*'.

He said it was apparent that if nothing was done to check this 'disastrous process', the ethical value of *lobola* to Bantu society was bound to disappear. He added that it was very doubtful, whether the wealth of the Africans had increased more than their needs. 'We have to remember', he said, 'what an enormous influence the European civilisation has had on the native in increasing his desire and need for a higher standard of life. Moreover, one has to bear in mind, that the cattle (for *lobola*) do not belong to the young men, but mostly to their fathers. It is probably less

burdensome for the old men nowadays to provide *lobola* for another wife than 15 or 20 years ago, but it is very doubtful, whether the situation is easier for the young folk'. He suggested that the only way to improve the situation, was the Christianisation of the people but legislation could greatly assist in this struggle. He said the question of gifts could not be settled by law. 'Instead of attacking the gifts', he said, 'it would seem desirable to strengthen the idea against *lobola* as merely a business matter or to aim at *lobola* itself being eventually regarded as a gift, a token of appreciation and love'. He said that African Christians and probably the younger people in general, would welcome regulations prohibiting excessive *lobola* demands. He urged the Government to take steps to 'sound responsible Native opinion with regard to regulation of *lobola* for monogamous marriages and to act accordingly'.

He said the Church of Sweden had not found it feasible to act alone on the *lobola* question but had expressed the opinion that the amount of *lobola* should be limited by law: 'We do not consider the time to be ripe for the abolition of *lobola*; instead, the Church of Sweden would support the continuance of *lobola* in a restricted form'. The *lobola* custom, he said, contained many valuable elements; it was a social bond of great importance in the structure of Bantu life; it was an inducement to parents to take care of their daughters and to young men to show their ability and resources; it was a safeguard to some degree, for good behaviour of both husband and wife: if the husband ill-treated his wife, she might get protection from her family and the husband would lose both wife and cattle; if the wife ran away or did not behave, the husband might demand the return of his *lobola*. He added that the time had not yet come to do away with such safeguards and suggested the regularisation of *lobola* to prevent excessive demands arising from covetousness and base motives. He proposed a limitation of 6 head of cattle for monogamous marriages and added that the matter of presents should be left to the parties concerned.¹³

The *Lobola* Committee presented its report in November, 1933. The Committee stated that the replies to the questionnaire sent to various missionary societies by the Revd H.C. Hugo, revealed 'a considerable difference in the position as it obtains in Mashonaland and Matabeleland respectively, Mashonaland presenting far greater difficulties needing attention and guidance'. The Ndebele view of *lobola*, it stated, differed considerably from that of the Shona; among the Ndebele, the *lobola* payment was made mainly, if not entirely, with regard to the children of the marriage whereas in Mashonaland, *lobola* was regarded as compensation for the expense and trouble the parents had undergone in bringing up their daughter and the loss of her services to the family.

The Committee said that it had not been possible to reach a consensus of opinion on the desirability of attempting to secure legislation although some members were in favour of the attempt being made; it was impossible for the Government to legislate effectively on a matter which was bound up 'so intimately and comprehensively with the whole social and religious fabric of the Bantu'; some of the Committee members were strongly convinced that the only way to rectify such evil propensities as were known to exist in this connection, was to develop Bantu thought inspired and taught by Christ. The *lobola* system itself and nearly all, if not indeed all, the evils noted, the Committee stated, arose from the low status of women in Bantu thought and practice. The Committee hoped that the evils inherited from primitive days when Might was the only Right, with special reference to women and children, would pass away and discouraged any attempt to abolish the system, but that there were undesirable features which demanded immediate attention.

The Committee presented arguments which had been put forward for and against the continuance of the *lobola* system. Those who favoured the continuance of the *lobola* system argued, *inter alia*, that: it is an inducement to the wife to be faithful, dutiful and respectful; it is a check on the husband in his treatment of his wife lest he lose her together with the *lobola*; it confers a measure of self-respect on the wife: she feels that she was not merely 'taken'; it establishes a relation of friendship between two families or clans, as *lobola* is not an absolute irrecoverable payment, but remains as a nexus; without *lobola*, marriage would be less binding and permanent than it is; it provides a form of compensation to parents and guardians for the expense and trouble of bringing up the girl; it is an ancient custom and is at the root of the most important parts of the Bantu social system: to destroy it, would be taking a definite step towards destroying the Bantu social system.

Those who disapproved of the continuance of the *lobola* system argued, *inter alia*, that: it is expressive of the inferior position of women in African society; the alleged humiliation of women for whom no *lobola* has been paid, will pass away with Christian advance; friendship and mutual good-will between families and clans, can be secured by marriage without *lobola*; the marriage tie binding the two families is sometimes not helped but hindered by *lobola* payments which are returnable under certain conditions; new hearts will accomplish what *lobola* does not accomplish.¹⁴

In Mashonaland, the Committee found that the usual amount of *lobola* was 10 head of cattle and £15 in cash; the amount varied but tended to increase; presents in addition to *lobola* amounted to as much as £25, and in addition, wedding expenses amounted to £5.

With respect to Mashonaland, the Committee recommended, *inter alia*, that: church members should pay *lobola* demanded by non-Christians for their daughters; Christians should not demand for their daughters more than 10 head of cattle and not more than £10 in cash; members should encourage the bride's parents to supply the bride's wedding clothes and to bear part (perhaps half) of the expenses of the wedding feast; they should discourage expensive wedding feasts; presents before marriage should not be reclaimable if the engagement was broken; no presents should be deemed to confer the right to cohabit before registration of marriage; no *lobola* and allied arrangements should be used to force a girl to marry against her will; *kutizisa* or elopement marriage should be absolutely forbidden.

With respect to Matebeleland, the Committee said the usual amount of *lobola* demanded, was about 5 head of cattle and £5 in cash. 'The general opinion in Matebeleland', the Committee stated, 'is that there is no need to ask for legal restriction'.¹⁵

After presenting his Committee's recommendations to the Missionary Conference of 1934, Mr Hugo urged the Conference to request the various missionary societies to present his Committee's recommendations to their respective Councils for consideration and acceptance within a year. As the Conference was convinced, however, that it could not deal adequately with so big a subject within the limited time available, the Revd Herbert Carter, proposed, and the Conference agreed, to accept the recommendations of Mr Hugo's Committee and to refer matters requiring legislation to the Executive of the Conference.¹⁶

It is not clear whether the Councils of the various missionary societies accepted the recommendations of Mr Hugo's Committee. Until they accepted and acted upon those recommendations, individual churches were left with no alternative but to continue to appeal to their members not to demand excessive *lobola* for their daughters.

For example, the Diocesan Missionary Conference of the Anglican Church held at St Augustine's mission from the 2nd to the 8th of September, 1936 urged African Christian members to do all in their power to fight against excessive *lobola* demands which, the Conference said, were hindering Christian young men from marriage in the Church. The Conference also appealed to African members to discourage costly preparations on the occasion of a Christian marriage because they were a hindrance to 'a right conception of the Sacrament and to Christian morality.' The Revd A.C. Knights argued that excessive *lobola* demands often made Christian marriage im-

possible¹⁷ and urged the African members of the Conference to express their opinions. The Revd Josiah Borerwe said that *lobola* should be limited but not abolished; the Revd P. Gwetu concurred. The Revd G. Nyabako favoured limiting *lobola* in districts where it was exorbitant. Sister Lois, C.R., spoke of the difficulty of getting educated girls married because of excessive *lobola* demands; the Revd H. Sekgoma urged African priests and evangelists to teach people to Christianise *lobola*.¹⁸

Arising out of the discussion, the Revd R. Holderness proposed that the Churches should encourage Christian parents to ask for not more than £10 and 6 head of cattle as *lobola* and that teachers and priests should set the example and pledge themselves to this. He explained that the amounts mentioned were only tentative; he was seconded by the Revd E. W. Crane. The Revd E. Chipunza proposed a meeting of the African clergy and Laity under the presidency of the Revd Samuel Mhlanga to discuss the *lobola* question and to report to the Conference; the motion was carried.¹⁹ It is not clear whether Mr Mhlanga's Committee discussed the issue further and if so, whether it made any new recommendations to the Conference.

It is also not clear whether the Executive of the Missionary Conference did in fact approach the Government with a view to securing legislation limiting the amount of *lobola* demanded by the parents for their daughters. What is certain is that the Missionary Conferences of 1936 and 1938 did not raise the issue; the Government certainly did not pass legislation in this regard before 1939. We may therefore, reasonably conclude that missionary efforts to limit the amount of *lobola* through legislation during this period, were unsuccessful.

II

The Growth and Expansion of the Christian Community among Africans in Zimbabwe, 1924-1939

In spite of the persistence of polygamy and the *lobola* system, the Christian community among Africans in Zimbabwe grew and expanded.

Statistics on the growth and expansion in membership in the various Christian churches in Zimbabwe between 1924 and 1939, are scanty. E.W. Smith, however, has provided figures for 1927 which show a total African Christian community of 78,668 members as shown in Table 1:

Table 1: *Size of the African Christian Community in Zimbabwe, 1927.*

London Missionary Society	2,273
Roman Catholic Church	20,657
Anglican Church	21,898
Wesleyan Methodist Church	9,763
Dutch Reformed Church	9,438
American Board Mission	2,100
American Methodist Episcopal Church	8,176
Brethren In Christ Church	1,206
Swedish Church Mission	507
Seventh Day Adventist Church	2,650
Total	78,668. ²⁰

Thereafter, the figures are either incomplete or contradictory. For example, while the figures provided by the Anglican Church show an increase in church membership from 21,898 in 1927 to 36,000 in 1935,²¹ there are no figures available for the rest of the period. By the same token, while membership in the American Methodist Episcopal Church increased from 8,176 in 1927 to 9,285 in 1929,²² there are no figures available for the rest of the period. Finally, while membership in the Church of Sweden increased from 507 in 1927 to 1,617 in 1933,²³ there are no figures available for the rest of the period. Moreover, as already stated, the figures are sometimes contradictory. For example, while E.W. Smith gives the figure of 2,273 members as belonging to the London Missionary Society in 1927, Goodall gives maximum figures of 1,400 in 1925 and 1,600 members in 1938.²⁴ For the Dutch Reformed Church, while E.W. Smith gives a figure of 9,438 members in 1927, Van der Merwe gives a figure of 7,071 members in 1935.²⁵ Even taking into account the number of backsliders who might have been suspended or expelled from church membership, the disparities in the figures in both cases are of such a scale that they cannot be disregarded as inconsequential.

A possible explanation for the decrease in membership in the Dutch Reformed Church might be the activities of Independent African churches such as the Zion Christian Church of Bishop Samuel Mutendi whose popularity and influence in the Bikita District especially among school children, aroused such concern that the

Dutch Reformed Church missionaries decided to investigate his work with a view to curtailing, if possible, his influence.²⁶ At any rate, the only complete figures we have, are those of the Wesleyan Methodist Church which show a total Christian community (full members, on trial members and including European members) of: 12,435 in 1928²⁷; 13,948 in 1938²⁸ and 14,274 in 1939.²⁹

There are, of course, no figures available for the Roman Catholic Church, the American Board Mission, the Brethren In Christ Church, the Seventh Day Adventist Church, the Salvation Army, the South African General Mission and the Church of Christ for the period 1928 to 1939.

The increase in membership in the Anglican Church, the American Methodist Episcopal Church, the Swedish Church Mission and the Wesleyan Methodist Church, referred to above, totalled 20,832 members. When this figure is added to the 78,668 given by E.W Smith for 1927, the total was 99,500 members.

The figures available show that the total African population of Zimbabwe increased from 919,837 in 1928³⁰ to 1,444,909 in 1937.³¹ Judging by these figures, it is clear that the expansion in church membership in Zimbabwe during this period, was modest. Still, it was an achievement taking into account the stringent rules and regulations governing church membership and the chronic shortage of staff and funds experienced by all missionary societies labouring in Zimbabwe during this period.

III

The Training of African Priests, Ministers and Pastors, 1924-1939

In spite of the stringent rules and regulations governing church membership, the Christian community among Africans in Zimbabwe grew and expanded. This growth and expansion was partly due to the training and ordination of African priests, ministers and pastors between 1924 and 1939.

We saw in Chapter 4 that by 1923 three African ministers had been ordained in the London Missionary Society: Sisho Moyo (1912); Mtompe Khumalo (1917) and Sitjenkwa Hlabangana (1921). In 1930 Senzani Mkandla was ordained minister of

the London Missionary Society.³² We also saw that in the Anglican Church, Samuel Mhlanga was ordained Deacon (1919) and priest (1923). In the American Methodist Episcopal Church, David Mandisodza was ordained minister in 1921. Between 1924 and 1939 the training and ordination of African priests, ministers and pastors, continued.

In the Anglican Church, African deacons and priests were trained at St Augustine's Theological College. The rules and regulations for admission, training and ordination, were very stringent:

Candidates for entrance must be either approved catechists who have worked in the diocese of Southern Rhodesia or must have worked as teachers and passed the examination for a Catechist as an entrance examination, as well as passed Standard VI in school work. They must fill up the form of application in their own handwriting. This must be signed by the Priest-in-Charge of their district as a recommendation, and countersigned by the Bishop. No candidate will be admitted without this... It must be understood that the candidate is accepted both for training and testing; the latter is to be understood to include intellectual, moral, and spiritual fitness for ordination. The principal will advise each term as to the candidate's fitness to continue. For ill-behaviour or lack of discipline, a candidate may be instantly dismissed by the Principal or his deputy. Candidates for the Diaconate must have completed at least two years at the College and have satisfied the Bishop's examiners. They must produce: a certificate of baptism and evidence of Confirmation; Letters testimonial from the College authorities; failing this, or if much time has elapsed, letters testimonial from at least one priest.. in the diocese... All candidates for Priests' Orders must produce : letters of Deacons' Orders; Letters Testimonials subscribed by at least three priests... of the Diocese...; a special recommendation from the Priest or Priests under whom he shall have served as Deacon testifying to the candidate's fitness, on spiritual as well as other grounds, for the high office. Before ordination, the candidate must: take an oath of canonical obedience to the Bishop; make and sign the usual declaration of assent... and make and sign the declaration consenting to be bound by the Church laws and Synods as set forth in Canon XIV of the Church of the Province of South Africa.³³

Several Anglican African priests were trained at St Augustine's Theological College; they included Stephen Hatendi, Gibson Nyabako, Elfric Matimba, Josiah Pswarayi, Edward Bernard Chipunza, Lucian Tarumbwa, Cyprian Tambo and Paul Gwetu. The following are their profiles.

Stephen Hatendi was born in 1899; was baptised in 1904 and confirmed in 1906; attended school at Epiphany mission near Rusape; became a catechist in 1916; attended St Augustine's Theological College from May 1921 to December 1922; passed Standard III; was ordained Deacon in 1923 and priest in 1926.³⁴ As priest, he served at St Faith's mission (1927-1929); St David's mission, Bonda, (1930-1933); St Peter's Church, Nyanga (1934-1936); St James' mission, Umtali, (1937-1939); St John's Parish, Sakubva, Umtali, (1940-1945); St Alban's mission, Glendale (1946-1954). He retired in 1955 and died in 1968.³⁵

Gibson Nyabako was born in 1886; was baptised in 1906 and confirmed in 1907; was educated at St Augustine's from 1905 to 1908; became a catechist in 1914; attended St Augustine's Theological College from May, 1921 to December, 1922; passed Standard III; was ordained Deacon in 1923 and priest in 1926.³⁶

Elfric Matimba was born about 1892; passed Standard IV Exemption Certificate; was ordained Deacon on 6th January, 1926; enrolled at St Augustine's Theological College in January, 1928 and was ordained priest on 21st December, 1928.³⁷

Josiah Pswarayi was born in 1891; was educated at St Augustine's; passed Standard IV; was ordained Deacon in 1926 and priest on 21st December 1928.³⁸

Edward Bernard Chipunza was born in September, 1902; began his career at Epiphany under the care and guidance of the veteran missionary, Archdeacon James Hay Upcher. From Epiphany, he proceeded to St Augustine's where he was educated from 1919 to 1920. He enrolled at St Augustine's Theological College in January, 1925 and was ordained Deacon on 21st September, 1927. After ordination, he left for St Mary's mission, Hunyani, to work as a Deacon. He became the ninth and youngest Deacon in the Diocese; was of 'a charming disposition, good intellectual ability and promise of spiritual power'.³⁹ He returned to St Augustine's Theological College to train for the priesthood and was ordained priest by Bishop Edward Paget in 1931.⁴⁰

Lucian Tarumbwa was born about 1893; began his career at St David's mission, Bonda; was educated at St Augustine's from 1917 to 1918; was licensed as a catechist in 1922; enrolled at St Augustine's Theological College in September, 1925 and was ordained priest on 23rd September, 1934.⁴¹

Cyprian Tambo was born about 1900; was baptised at Maronda Mashanu mission by the Revd A.S. Cripps on 21st September, 1919 and was educated at Waddilove

(Wesleyan) School from 1919 to 1925. He was confirmed at All Saints' mission, Wrentham, by Bishop Paget in 1926. He enrolled at St Augustine's Theological College in 1933 and was ordained priest in 1939.⁴²

Paul Gwetu was born about 1893; was educated at St Augustine's from 1910 to 1912; worked at St Aidan's mission until 1917 and at St Cyprian's mission, Heany Junction, until 1933. He passed standard 5; was ordained Deacon on 23rd September, 1934; returned to St Augustine's to train for the priesthood and was ordained priest in 1939.⁴³

Altogether, the African clergy in the Anglican Church increased from 1 Deacon in 1921 to 4 Deacons and 1 Priest in 1924⁴⁴ to 12 priests and 1 Deacon in 1936⁴⁵ to 15 priests by August, 1939.⁴⁶

In the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the conditions for admission and training for African ministers were also stringent. According to the rules and regulations drawn up by the Synod, every candidate for training for the ministry was required to have been a member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church for at least two years and a fully accredited Local Preacher. Every candidate was to be examined by the Synod in post-Standard VI literary work and was required to have read John Wesley's Sermons (Nos. 1-44) and approve the general system of doctrine contained therein and the Rules and Regulations of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. The Circuit Superintendent and his colleagues were required to hear the candidate preach before his nomination was made.

A preliminary examination for candidates of whom notice of nomination had been made at the March Quarterly Meeting, was to be held on the last Friday and Saturday of April each year unless otherwise directed by the Synod. The subjects of the examination were to be an English essay on some subject within the candidate's background to test the candidate's ability to express himself in English; reading in English from a selected passage to test the candidate's ability to read and understand English; Arithmetic in Standard VI work and General Knowledge of current events and matters of local interest.

Each candidate was required to preach a 'trial sermon' in August which was to be heard by two ministers (one European and one African). The European minister who was to hear the candidate preach, was to advise him as to when and where the sermon was to be preached. After the sermon was preached, a report on the sermon and a suggested mark were to be forwarded to the Examinations Secretary. A sermon

written in the candidate's own handwriting and in the vernacular of the district in which he worked and which was to be different from the one preached before the two ministers, was to be forwarded by the candidate to the Examinations Secretary two months before the Synod.

There was to be an examination held on the first Friday and Saturday in September of each year unless otherwise directed by the Synod. The subjects of the examination were to be Theology and Biblical Knowledge; every candidate was required to take this examination. The Theology examination was to be a simple test of the candidate's knowledge of the essential facts of the Christian experience; God's purpose for the world and the meaning of the Sacraments. The Biblical Knowledge examination was to test the candidate's knowledge of the great men and women of the Old Testament, the Psalms, the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles; books covering these subjects were to be prescribed from time to time.

Every candidate was to be examined orally at the Synod in Scripture, Theology and Rules and Regulations of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. He was required to speak of his Conversion, Christian experience, Call to Preach and to state to the Synod his attitude to *lobola* with regard to his daughters and wards and the extent of his financial liabilities, if any; a candidate who was heavily in debt, was not to be accepted.

A student in a training institution who desired to become a candidate for the ministry, was required to complete a year's work in a circuit before being nominated as a candidate; accepted candidates were normally required to undergo two years' training in a training institution.

Normally, the period between acceptance as a candidate and reception into Full Connexion, was to be seven years, of which two years were to be spent in the training course and five years on probation. The five years of probation were, as a rule, to commence when the candidate had completed two years of training at a training institution but in exceptional cases, a candidate could be appointed to serve part of his probation in a circuit before enrolling in a training institution and the other part after leaving a training institution.

Until a probationer minister was received into Full Connexion with the Wesleyan Methodist Church, he was required to take annual examinations in Scripture and Theology; definite texts were to be prescribed by the Synod. In addition, every probationer minister was required to pass an examination in Wesleyan Methodist Law and Discipline before he was recommended for acceptance into Full Connexion;

tutors for probationer ministers' studies and examinations were to be appointed by the Synod. Probationer ministers were required to submit to their respective Superintendents a full month before the Synod, a list of books they had read during the year; these lists were to be forwarded to the Examinations Secretary without delay.

Finally, if a probationer minister did not pass his examinations satisfactorily, or if his character and work were not satisfactory, the Synod could recommend to the British Conference either that his probation be lengthened, or that he retire from the work; a written report on the character and work of each probationer minister, was to be forwarded to the Examinations Secretary a full month before the Synod.⁴⁷

African ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist Church were trained at Waddilove. Among the trainees were Peter B. Mantiziba, Andria K. Mtshede, Meshack K. Zvimba, Kasin Gazi, George L. Malusalila, Sam N. Tyeza, Matthew J. Rusike, Thompson D. Samkange, E.T.J. Nemapare, Josiah C. Mashingaidze, Simon J. Chihota, W.J. Ramushu, Enoch Musa, Henry Kachidza, Enoch Mapondera, S. Mnyama and Solomon Zwana. The following are their profiles.

Peter B. Mantiziba was baptised in March, 1906. As a full member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, he worked in his father's village in Selukwe as a teacher and untrained evangelist. He then left for Waddilove Training Institution to train as an evangelist. When he left Waddilove he worked zealously for several years until 1913 when he was sent to Northern Rhodesia where he did outstanding work as an evangelist.⁴⁸ In 1920 he served in the Chimanza Circuit as Assistant African Minister. In 1921 he returned to Waddilove to continue his training for the ministry.⁴⁹ In 1923 he served as Assistant African Minister in the Broken Hill Circuit in Northern Rhodesia. He returned to Waddilove and completed his ministerial training in 1925.⁵⁰ As a full minister, he served in the Chipembi Circuit (1926); in the Chimanza Circuit (1927-1929); in the Nengubo Circuit (1930) and in the Bulawayo African Circuit (1931-1932). He died in 1934.

Andria K. Mtshede was converted in 1897. After he had been a member 'on trial' for several years, he was baptised and received into full membership of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. In 1903 he became a Class Leader and Local Preacher; he served in this capacity for 9 years. In 1913 he was sent to Northern Rhodesia to serve as an evangelist; he served in this capacity for 8 years until 1920 when he was recommended for training for the ministry.⁵¹ In 1921 he enrolled at Waddilove to train for the ministry.⁵² He served as Assistant African Minister in the Chipembi Circuit in

Northern Rhodesia (1922-1924); he continued his ministerial training at Waddilove in 1925⁵³ and 1926⁵⁴ and completed his training in 1927. As a full minister, he served in the Chipembi Circuit (1928-1929). He died in 1929.

Meshack K. Zvimba enrolled at Waddilove in 1921 to train for the ministry.⁵⁵ In 1922 he served as Assistant African Minister in the Selukwe Circuit where he was reported to be doing excellent work at Pakame mission and 'a vast amount of invaluable visitation and supervising of stations in that vicinity and all over the Selukwe Reserve'.⁵⁶ He continued his ministerial training at Waddilove in 1926,⁵⁷ 1927⁵⁸ and 1928.⁵⁹ As Assistant African Minister, he served in the Nengubo Circuit (1929).

Kasin M. Gazi enrolled at Waddilove to train for the ministry in 1920. As Assistant African Minister he served in the Nengubo Circuit (1920-1922); in the Selukwe Circuit (1923) and in the Nengubo Circuit (1924). He continued his ministerial training at Waddilove in 1925,⁶⁰ 1926⁶¹ and 1927.⁶² As Assistant African Minister he served in the Nengubo Circuit (1927-1928) and in the Epworth Circuit (1929). As a full Minister, he served in the Chimanza Circuit (1930); in the Wedza Circuit (1932-1934); in the Bulawayo African Circuit (1935-1937) and in the Gatooma Circuit (1938-1939).

George L. Malusalila enrolled at Waddilove to train for the ministry in 1925.⁶³ He continued his training in 1926,⁶⁴ 1927,⁶⁵ 1928⁶⁶ and 1929.⁶⁷ As a full Minister, he served in the Tegwani Circuit (1930-1934; 1937; 1939).

Sam N. Tyeza enrolled at Waddilove to train for the ministry in 1921.⁶⁸ As Assistant African Minister, he served in the Nengubo Circuit (1922) and in the Bulawayo African Circuit (1924). He continued his ministerial training at Waddilove in 1925⁶⁹, 1926⁷⁰, 1927⁷¹ and 1928.⁷² As a full Minister he served in the Bulawayo African Circuit (1930-1934) and in the Kwenda Circuit (1935-1939).

Matthew J. Rusike enrolled at Waddilove to train for the ministry in 1928.⁷³ He continued his training in 1929⁷⁴, 1930⁷⁵, 1931⁷⁶ and 1932.⁷⁷ In 1934 he was ordained.⁷⁸ In 1936 he was appointed Superintendent of the Makwiro Circuit, the first African Wesleyan Methodist Minister to be appointed Circuit Superintendent.

Thompson D. Samkange enrolled at Waddilove to train for the ministry in 1928.⁷⁹ He continued his training at Waddilove in 1929⁸⁰, 1930⁸¹ and 1934.⁸² In 1934 he served in the Bulawayo African Circuit. Because of the splendid work he had done in the Bulawayo African Circuit, when Samkange completed his seven years of ministerial

training, the Superintendent of the Bulawayo African Circuit, the Revd Herbert Carter, recommended him for ordination at the 1936 Conference.⁸³ In 1936 Samkange was ordained.⁸⁴ In 1937 he was appointed Superintendent of the Kwenda Circuit, the second African Wesleyan Methodist Minister to hold that position.⁸⁵

Esau Thomas Jan Nemapare enrolled at Waddilove to train for the ministry in 1929.⁸⁶ In 1930 he served as Assistant African Minister in the Chipembi Circuit under the supervision of the Revd S. Douglas Gray.⁸⁷ During the year he passed his ministerial examination.⁸⁸ By 1932 he had been a probationer minister for four years.⁸⁹ In 1934 he was posted to the Shabani Circuit as a Probationer minister.⁹⁰ In 1934 the Superintendent of the Shabani Circuit, the Revd A. W. Heath, reported that Nemapare had acquitted himself well in the work of the Circuit.⁹¹ Because of the excellent work he had done in the Shabani Circuit in 1934, when Nemapare completed his seven years of ministerial training in 1935 the Synod of 1935 unanimously recommended him for ordination.⁹² He was ordained in 1936.⁹³ He served among others, in the Shabani Circuit (1937-1938) and in the Epworth Circuit (1939).

Josiah C. Mashingaidze enrolled at Waddilove to train for the ministry in 1932.⁹⁴ He continued his training in 1934⁹⁵ and 1935⁹⁶. As Assistant African Minister, he served in the Chibero Circuit (1936-1939).

Simon J. Chihota was educated at Waddilove. He became an evangelist -teacher, first at Chideme in the Kwenda Circuit and afterwards in the Tegwani Circuit. In 1921 he was posted to the Broken Hill Circuit in Northern Rhodesia. In 1925 he was appointed to the Waddilove staff, received his ministerial training at Waddilove after which he was sent back to Northern Rhodesia in 1931 to serve in the Chipembi Circuit. In 1934 he was posted to the Bulawayo African Circuit. Because of the sterling work he had done in the Bulawayo African Circuit, when Chihota completed his seven years of ministerial training in 1935, the Superintendent of the Bulawayo African Circuit, the Revd Herbert Carter, recommended him for ordination at the 1936 Conference.⁹⁷ He served in the Epworth Circuit (1937-1938) and in the Nengubo Circuit. In 1941 he was appointed Assistant Superintendent of the Nengubo Circuit. In 1950 he was given full charge of the Circuit, the third African Wesleyan Methodist minister to become Circuit Superintendent. He died on 23rd February, 1969.⁹⁸

W. Ramushu, Enoch Musa, Henry Kachidza, Enoch Mapondera and S. Mnyama began their ministerial training at Waddilove in 1937.⁹⁹ Ramushu served in the Bulawayo African Circuit in 1939 while Musa, Kachidza and Mapondera continued their training at Waddilove in 1939.¹⁰⁰

Solomon Leonard Zwana was born at Tegwani about 1896. He began his early education at Tegwani. After passing Standard IV he proceeded to Waddilove to complete his primary education after which he trained as a teacher. After completing his teacher training, he taught in the Nengubo Circuit. Having offered himself as an Evangelist Candidate he received further training and devoted himself to the work of an Evangelist-Teacher. In 1939 while serving in the Mzinyati Circuit, he offered himself as a candidate for the ministry. He was accepted and after theological training at Waddilove, he was appointed for a short term to the Mzinyati Circuit and later served in the Gwaai, Nata, Epworth, Gatooma and Bulawayo Circuits.¹⁰¹

The American Methodist Episcopal Church opened a Theological Department at Old Umtali at the beginning of 1927 to train candidates for the ministry. The 8 men who took the theological course completed the required three years of training after which they received their appointments to circuit work.¹⁰² In 1929 Clifford Faku, Reginald Ngonyama, Thomas Marange and David Mandisodza were ordained elders.¹⁰³ In November, 1931 the Revd H. I. James was appointed to take charge of ministerial training at Old Umtali; in July, 1932 ministerial training became a separate school known as the Theological and Bible Training School.¹⁰⁴ In December, 1932 the Revd Titus Marange completed his ministerial course in the Theological School at Old Umtali.¹⁰⁵

In 1933, 5 men were training for the ministry in the Theological School at Old Umtali; of these, 3 were received at the 1932 Conference. According to the Revd H.I. James, the 5 men were eager to be ministers to their people. Of the 5, 1 was due to complete his training course at the end of the year; 2 were in their second year while the remaining 2 were in the first year of training.¹⁰⁶

In 1934, 7 men were taking the ministerial training course in the Theological School at Old Umtali; of these, 2 were taking the first year course of whom 1 came from the Belgian Congo Mission Conference; the other 4 were in their second year and 1 was in the third year of training.¹⁰⁷ In 1935, 9 candidates were taking the ministerial training course in the Theological School at Old Umtali. Of these, 2 were from the Belgian Congo Mission Conference; 1 came from the South-East Africa Mission Conference and 1 came from the American Board mission at Mt. Selinda.¹⁰⁸

Other ministers and pastors who were trained in the Theological School at Old Umtali between 1927 and 1939 included Jonah Chitombo, Moses Muparutsa, Zachariah Mukombiwa, Isaiah Munjoma, Hosea Katsidzira, Jonah Machiri, Patrick Machiri, Josiah Chimbádza, Philip Chieza, Obadiah Chimonyo, Silas Kasambira

and Johnson Maramba. These ministers and pastors played a key role in the growth and expansion of the American Methodist Episcopal Church in Zimbabwe between 1927 and 1939.

In 1930 in the Marange Circuit, according to the Revd R.F. Wagner, the Revd Reginald Ngonyama was directing a magnificent piece of work for his Lord; the line-up of parents with babies to be baptised at the April meeting at Mutsago, created a lasting impression on the crowd of over 700 people; 21 couples stood up together and made their vows on behalf of their children.¹⁰⁹ In 1933 the work in the Chiduku Circuit continued to prosper under the leadership of the Revd Patrick Machiri, assisted by eight pastor-teachers.¹¹⁰ In December, 1935 the Revd Jonah Chitombo was given charge of the Nyadiri Circuit comprising of eight stations. In 1936 the Revd Moses Muparutsa was given charge of the Uzumba and Maramba-Fungwi Circuit.¹¹¹ During the year, the Revds. Thomas Marange and Zachariah Mukombiwa were given charge of the Zimunya and Chiduku Circuits.¹¹²

In 1937 the Revd Jonah Machiri gave full time to evangelistic meetings at the Old Umtali Centre and throughout the Umtali District. As a result, according to the Revd M.J. Murphree, hundreds of souls were saved through his preaching.¹¹³

In 1938 the Gandanzara Circuit was divided, forming the Gandanzara and Mukahanana Circuits and the Revd Jonah Machiri was appointed minister of the new Circuit¹¹⁴; the pastor of the Old Umtali Church, the Revd Josiah Chimbadzwa, proved himself to be 'a faithful shepherd of the flock, a diligent student of the Word, and a strong preacher of the truth'¹¹⁵ while the work of the Church in the villages under the leadership of Pastors Philip Chieza, Obadiah Chimonyo, Silas Kasambira, Jonah Machiri, Patrick Machiri, Johnson Maramba and Zachariah Mukombiwa, showed very encouraging increases in membership and in the financial, social and spiritual interests of the Church.¹¹⁶

In 1939 the Mangwende Circuit which was the smallest and weakest in the Murewa District, made steady growth under the earnest efforts of the Revd David Mandisodza.¹¹⁷

Other churches also began to train and ordain African ministers between 1924 and 1939. In the American Board Mission, three African ministers were ordained during this period: Ngangeni Dhlakama (1923); Hohoza Dube (12th July, 1931) and Tapera Nkomo (17th July, 1932).¹¹⁸ In 1933 the Seventh Day Adventist Church began to train African ministers in earnest.¹¹⁹ In the Swedish Church Mission, the first Zimbabwean pastor, Mr J.B. Hove, was ordained in Masase Church in March, 1937 by Pastor Josef Othenius who had received the commission of the Swedish Arch-

bishop to perform the ceremony. Mr Hove had first worked as a teacher in the Church until he underwent pastoral training at the Oscarsberg Seminary in Natal. He received his certificate from the Seminary in 1931, studied at Amanzimtoti for three years, returned and served again as a teacher until he received his ordination.¹²⁰

The Dutch Reformed Church started a training course for African ministers at Morgenster mission in 1936.¹²¹ After completing a theological course, Ezra Shumba was ordained at Morgenster as minister of that congregation on 27th August, 1938.¹²²

The Roman Catholic Church lagged behind other churches in the training and ordination of African priests. The first two African priests, Fr Isidore Chikore¹²³ and Fr Simon Tsuro, were ordained by Archbishop Aston Chichester on 27th October, 1947.¹²⁴

IV

Women's Organisations, 1919-1939

In addition to the training and ordination of African priests, ministers and pastors, women's organisations played a key role in the growth and expansion of the Christian community among Africans in Zimbabwe between 1920 and 1939. Among these were the *Ruwadzano* in the Wesleyan Methodist Church and in the American Board Mission; the *Rukwadzano* in the American Methodist Episcopal Church; the *Vashandiri* in the Swedish Church Mission and the *Sungano ya Madzimai* in the Dutch Reformed Church.

In the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the *Ruwadzano* was the most potent evangelistic agency among Africans in Zimbabwe between 1919 and 1939; this movement had no parallel elsewhere on the African Continent outside Zimbabwe and South Africa.¹²⁵

In order to encourage African women to participate more actively in the Wesleyan Methodist Church, a movement called the 'African Women's Prayer Union' was launched in the Transvaal by Mrs Amos Burnet; its success there led to its expansion to Zimbabwe in 1919¹²⁶ where it became known locally as the *Ruwadzano* in Mashonaland and the *Manyano* in Matebeleland. The *Ruwadzano/Manyano* women were also known as the 'Red Blouse Women' because of the red blouse which formed part of their uniform. In 1920 the Synod urged members to make every effort to extend the Women's Prayer Union throughout the country.¹²⁷

According to the rules and regulations drawn up by the Synod of Southern and Northern Rhodesia, the officers of the *Ruwadzano* were to consist of: The President and Treasurer who was to be the wife of the Chairman of the Rhodesia District of the Wesleyan Methodist Church; the Rhodesia District Secretary who was to be elected annually by the Rhodesia District Committee; the Circuit President who was to be the Superintendent Minister's wife; Vice Presidents, Ministers' wives, European and African. Each branch was to elect its own Chairwoman, subject to the approval of the Circuit Quarterly Meeting; if an African Minister's wife was in residence, she was to become the Chairwoman at that place.

Two Circuit Representatives were to be elected annually to the Quarterly Meeting. Three representatives were to be elected annually to the District Committee. The circuits were to elect three representatives in rotation. The District Committee was to meet each year at the Synod. Members were to consist of the District President, Circuit Presidents and Vice Presidents, three elected representatives, with power to co-opt other members. Reports and financial statements from all circuits were to be presented to the Representative Session of the Synod. The District Representatives to the Synod were to consist of the District President; three Circuit Presidents (to be elected at the previous District Committee meeting); three African Representatives (to be elected by the District Committee from those present). The Circuit Committee was to consist of the Circuit President, Vice Presidents and Chairwomen.

The aim of the *Ruwadzano* was to 'carry on Christian work among women and to further in every possible way the work of the Church'. Any woman who was a full member or a 'member on trial' of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, could join the *Ruwadzano* but only full members of the Wesleyan Methodist Church were eligible to wear the red blouse. Those who joined the *Ruwadzano* were to remain 'on trial' for at least six months. If a woman proved unworthy of Church membership, her name was to be removed from the *Ruwadzano* roll and her ticket and badge were to be returned to the Circuit President who alone could authorise the expulsion of a member. The red blouse was to be worn at *Ruwadzano* meetings, sacraments and funerals. The women were to be 'bloused' or accepted into full membership of the *Ruwadzano* by the District President or her appointed deputy.

Each full member of the *Ruwadzano* was required to pay one shilling per annum and each 'member on trial', six pence; three pence of each shilling were to be used for the expenses incurred in the Circuit; the Circuit President was to be the Treasurer. Any surplus funds were to be controlled by the District Synod; no other collections were to be made without the consent of the Superintendent Minister. Each branch

was required to hold a meeting on Thursday of each week and to nominate a Chairwoman whose name was to be sent to the Quarterly Meeting for approval; if an African Minister was in residence, his wife was to be in charge of the weekly meetings in the absence of the Circuit President.

Each member of the *Ruwadzano* was required to abstain from smoking or taking snuff and from participating in 'heathen customs' such as consulting 'witch-doctors', brewing and drinking 'Kaffir beer' or any intoxicating drinks; she was required to pray everyday; attend church services and meetings; not to indulge in fighting and to speak kindly always; not to swear back if sworn at and to be always willing to do whatever Christian work was assigned to her.¹²⁸

Ruwadzano activities were to include prayer meetings, visiting the sick at home and in hospitals and Sunday School teaching. Annual conventions were to be held in each circuit at which new members were to be 'bloused' and admitted as full members of the movement.

Starting in 1921 the *Ruwadzano* steadily gained ground. In 1921 at Epworth, attendance at meetings sometimes reached as many as 100 women.¹²⁹ In 1921 in the Bulawayo Circuit, the *Manyano* women held their first convention in Bulawayo which was attended by about 60 members from the Bulawayo and Tegnani Circuits.¹³⁰ The annual report for 1921 observed that the *Ruwadzano* was making a strong appeal to African women. 'The future', it stated 'is bright with hope when it holds movements of this kind among the women, who, in Africa, are proverbially hard to win'.¹³¹ The annual report for 1922 also noted the impact the *Ruwadzano* was making on the lives of African women in the Wesleyan Methodist Church:

In Rhodesia, the Women's Prayer Union is in its infancy, but already the outcome is not only an uplifting of the women themselves but also an opening for definite service for Christ. The work they did last year has been productive of much blessing. One circuit speaks of a revival due to the fine work of the Red Blouse Women, who have carried the Word of God to many heathen kraals.¹³²

In 1924 in the Chimanza Circuit, 143 women were meeting every week for Bible reading and prayer. The Epworth Circuit reported 89 fully-registered members while over 250 women were meeting regularly in the villages. The *Ruwadzano* held annual conventions in the Nengubo and Epworth Circuits during the year. The Epworth

Circuit convention lasted for two days and was attended by over 150 women representing all parts of the Circuit; Mrs Hardaker conducted Bible classes and devotional meetings. At one evening service, a spontaneous revival broke out when 13 women were enrolled as 'members on trial'. 'There is no doubt', the Mashonaland report for 1924 stated, 'of the immense possibilities of this movement. It is evident that whenever encouragement is given, the women are most anxious to improve their conditions both spiritually and socially'.¹³³

In 1928 the Epworth Circuit *Ruwadzano* held a convention at Epworth which was attended by over 100 women from all parts of the Circuit.¹³⁴ In 1933 the Epworth Circuit *Ruwadzano* also held a successful convention at Epworth which was attended by about 200 women.¹³⁵ The annual report for 1933 noted the impact of the *Ruwadzano* in the country at large. 'In most circuits', it stated, 'the *Ruwadzano* or *Manyano* ... has become a recognised part of our work, and in many places, the active leadership of the Red Blouse Women ... has saved the situation'.¹³⁶

Altogether, membership of the *Ruwadzano* in the Wesleyan Methodist Church (full and on trial members) increased from 2,035 in 1934¹³⁷ to 3,473 in 1936¹³⁸ to 3,863 in 1939.¹³⁹

In the American Board Mission, the *Ruwadzano* was founded by Mrs Dorothy Marsh and Mrs Madeline Dixon at Mt. Selinda in 1926. Early members were Mrs H. Dube, Miss Craig, Miss A.D. Nyembezi and Miss Nora Tamela.¹⁴⁰

The *Ruwadzano* women were expected to live in peace and harmony with their husbands, relatives and neighbours and to pray regularly morning and evening. Members were urged to abstain from beer brewing; attendance at traditional ancestral worship meetings; consulting 'witch-doctors', gossiping, jealousy or harbouring of evil thoughts in the heart, drinking or smoking.¹⁴¹

Although no formal constitution was drafted and adopted in the initial stages, the *Ruwadzano* movement grew and expanded. In September, 1937 a union camp meeting of Chikore and Mt. Selinda women was planned and carried through by the *Ruwadzano* women almost entirely without help. The women earned money in various ways and bought mealie-meal and two oxen for food for three days; over 100 women and some men attended. In May, 1938 the *Ruwadzano* women took charge of the Sunday church services at Mt. Selinda; in June the *Ruwadzano* women at Chikore did likewise. The women spoke, read the Scriptures and prayed before churches full of people. 'When we think that only a generation ago African women were chattels

and were hardly considered to have a mind or a soul', the Church's annual magazine stated, 'this is very remarkable and shows very clearly that African women are marching on very rapidly.'¹⁴²

In 1939 the *Ruwadzano* women of Mt. Selinda held meetings at different places; consequently, backsliders were brought back and a good number of people confessed Christ at these meetings. At the meeting held at Gwenzi, two men who had been backsliders told the women that they had come back to Christ because their wives were earnest Christians. 'Women', they said, 'were our slaves, and now they seem to be our leaders'. In September, the *Ruwadzano* women held a two-day annual meeting at the Umsilizi River. Many women came to the annual meeting.¹⁴³ Thus, from humble beginnings, the *Ruwadzano* developed into a potent evangelistic arm of the American Congregational Church in Zimbabwe between 1926 and 1939.

The *Rukwadzano rwe Madzimai* of the American Methodist Episcopal Church was launched in 1929 at Old Umtali as a worshipping fellowship of the wives of the African ministers, ministers-in-training and pastor-teachers at Old Umtali.¹⁴⁴

The leading spirit in the founding of the *Rukwadzano* was Mrs Lydia Chimonyo. Mrs Chimonyo who loved to pray, began to look for those women who, like herself, loved to pray and prayed with them. Whenever the women went to look for firewood, they took time to pray. Shortly afterwards, they began to wake up at 4 o'clock in the morning to go and pray West and East of Mandisodza Village.¹⁴⁵ Mrs Chimonyo recruited the following women during this early period: Mrs Edith Marange, Mrs Lydia Mandizera, Mrs Lilian Machiri, Mrs Emily Rugayo, Mrs Emma Katsidzira, Mrs Judith Munjoma, Mrs Moud Chitombo, Mrs Else Sauramba, Mrs Cecilia Mawoyo, Mrs Lydia Chirewa, Mrs Martha Chikosi, Mrs Esther Mupikata, Mrs Naomi Makuto, Mrs Katherine Cheke, Mrs Lydia Kamusono, Mrs Esther Jangano, Mrs Helen Pedzeni and Mrs Julia Chingono.¹⁴⁶ The first *Rukwadzano* revival meeting was held at Easter at Old Umtali in 1930. The second and largest camp meeting took place in July, 1933 at the farm of a leading Methodist family, that of Abraham Kawadza, by the banks of the Chiodzani river near Umtali.¹⁴⁷ Through such meetings, the *Rukwadzano* movement grew and expanded.

In October, 1933 a *Rukwadzano* meeting was held in the Mtoko District; so pleasing were the results, according to the Superintendent of the Mtoko District, the Revd W. Bourgaize, that another session of a longer duration, was planned for 1934.¹⁴⁸

In 1934 a badge was made for *Rukwadzano* women; the wives of ministers, ministers-in-training and pastor-teachers were the first to be badged by Mrs M.J. Murphree.¹⁴⁹

In 1936, according to the Superintendent of the Nyadiri District, the Revd T.A. O'Farrell, the *Rukwadzano* women, together with the Local Preacher Group, carried a large share of the vital evangelistic work in the District. He added: 'They have diligently organised new groups until nearly every station has from ten to thirty. Through their efforts, many Christian women are being led into richer spiritual life, many backsliders have been reclaimed, and many of their most enthusiastic members are new recruits from among the non-Christian women'.¹⁵⁰

In 1937 the *Rukwadzano* movement continued to do sterling work in the Mtoko District. According to the Revd W. Bourgaize, the movement was exercising 'no small influence among the women of the native villages. They held a meeting during the first week of September, and, already much good has come of it'.¹⁵¹ In the Old Umtali District, according to the Superintendent, the Revd M.J. Murphree, the *Rukwadzano* was having a great influence among the people. He added: 'We have listened to the testimonies of 181 who were received into full membership during the year, and a large percentage of these testified that they were converted in the meetings of the *Rukwadzano*'.¹⁵² In Umtali the *Rukwadzano* held evangelistic meetings in various parts of the town every Friday afternoon. The Superintendent of the Umtali District, the Revd E. L. Sells, reported: 'Many women who have been leading a bad life of the town are now in the fold of our Lord Jesus Christ. The women visit the hospital regularly. They bought hymnals for use in the services at the Jail'.¹⁵³ In the Zimunya Circuit, according to the Revd E. L. Sells, the monthly meetings of the *Rukwadzano* at the various churches, had been very helpful. He added: 'Many women have been brought to Christ. The *Rukwadzano* have given much money to help out the churches that are in need'.¹⁵⁴

In 1938 a Proposed Constitution of the *Rukwadzano Rwe Wadzimai Rwe Methodist Episcopal Church*, was unveiled. According to this Constitution, the purpose of the organisation was to promote the financial, social, and spiritual interests of the Church. Membership was open to all women who were probationary or full members, in good standing, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Beginners in the Church might become Associate Members but would have no vote. At the Local level, the leader of the *Rukwadzano* would usually be the Pastor-teacher's wife but in some cases, she might be some other woman in the Church. At the Circuit level, the circuit activities were to be organised under the direction of the Quarterly Conference, and the Minister's wife would usually be the leader but some other member might be. The reception of members and the presentation of Badges were to take place at the Quarterly Conference. At the District level, each District was to provide its own organisation under the direction of the District Superintendent or someone appointed by him. The Northern and Southern sections of the Conference were each to have

an Executive Committee composed of all the wives of ministers of each circuit, another woman from each circuit and three African ministers from the section. At the Conference level, there were to be two Conference Secretaries, one representing each section, elected by the Conference, to co-ordinate the activities of the two sections, to organise the arrangements for the Day Of Prayer, and any other activities that might be undertaken. There were to be two missionary advisors, elected by the Conference for each section. There was to be a Convention held annually in the Northern section and in the Southern section of the Conference under the direction of the Executive Committee of each section, along with the African Minister of the entertaining circuit and the District Superintendent in whose district the Convention was held. The Convention for the Southern section was to be held the week-end of the first Sunday in August and the Convention in the Northern section was to be held two weeks later. One delegate from each District might be sent from each section to the Annual Convention of the other section, each section being responsible for the expenses of its three delegates. The official emblem of the *Rukwadzano* was to be a cloth badge in the form of a Maltese Cross, with the insignia of the clasped hands; the Motto of the organisation was to be 'For Christ and Others'.¹⁵⁵

Armed with the above Constitution, the work of the *Rukwadzano* went steadily forward. In 1938 in the Mtoko District, the *Rukwadzano* meeting which was held in September at Mudzonga, was well attended.¹⁵⁶ In the Umtali District, the *Rukwadzano* women were active and, according to the Revd E.L. Sells, were a real force in evangelism; there were about 600 women in the *Rukwadzano* in the District. The annual meeting was held in the Zimunya Circuit at the invitation of Chief Zimunya; it was estimated that 4,000 women attended.¹⁵⁷ In Umtali, according to the Revd E.L. Sells, the *Rukwadzano* women continued to do fine work; they held evangelistic meetings and many people were converted.¹⁵⁸

In 1939 the annual convention of the *Rukwadzano* of the Northern section of the Conference, was held in the Mrewa District. At these meetings, according to the Superintendent of the Mrewa District, the Revd H.I. James, the old people were especially considered. He added: 'At one meeting I heard the testimony of one old woman to the effect that she had become a Christian at these services. She was old and bent and could not stand up straight even with the aid of a stick. I learned later that several of the women had carried her many miles to get her to the meetings.'¹⁵⁹ In the Umtali District, according to the Revd E.L. Sells, the *Rukwadzano* women were still doing effective work; evangelistic meetings were held in various places during each month.¹⁶⁰ In the Zimunya Circuit, Mrs Thomas Marange, President of the Circuit *Rukwadzano*, reported: 'Our *Rukwadzano* is doing well and many souls are being born into the Kingdom of God as a result of our work'.¹⁶¹

In other churches, women's movements were also organised. In 1933 in the Dutch Reformed Church, a Women's Association called *Sungano ya Madzimai*, was organised; one of its aims was to carry the Gospel to non-Christian women. As a result of the evangelistic efforts of the *Sungano ya Madzimai*, according to Van der Merwe, some old pagan women accepted Christ as their Saviour.¹⁶²

In the Swedish Church Mission, a women's movement called *Vashandiri* or servants of the Church, was launched in 1937 but it took several years before a uniform in grey and violet, was introduced and a ritual for the *Vashandiri* dedication ceremony, was prepared. When a Christian woman wants to become a *mushandiri*, she is required to undergo one year of probation before she is received in the organisation. As a *mushandiri*, she is required to promise to be a good wife and mother, to pray diligently and read the Bible, to go to church regularly and partake in the Holy Communion. The tasks of the *vashandiri* are to help in the catechumen classes and teach in the Sunday school, to help sick and needy people, to visit non-Christian homes and witness for Christ by singing, scripture reading and prayers. The local pastor is a permanent member of the *vashandiri* board in the congregation.¹⁶³

It should be clear from the above that the women's movements were a vital evangelistic agency in the growth and expansion of the Christian community among Africans in Zimbabwe between 1920 and 1939.

V

Camp Meetings 1918-1939.

In the American Methodist Episcopal Church, in addition to the *Rukwadzano* a vital evangelistic agency in the Church, was the camp meeting, the purpose of which was to revive the faith of the converts and to bring more converts into the Church.

The first camp meeting was held at Old Umtali in June, 1918 but it was not until July, 1928 that camp meetings were organised on a large scale through the efforts of the Revd M.J. Murphree who started the Nyatsande camp meeting near Gandanzara.¹⁶⁴ According to the Revd Murphree, on the first Sunday, there were 720 people present; the numbers and interest increased until on the last day there were 1,092 people present, representing 20 stations. He added: 'This meeting resulted, not only in Spiritual Blessing to those who attended, but the revival fires have been started in practically all the stations represented at the Camp.'¹⁶⁵

In September, 1930 a ten-day camp meeting was held at Chitenderano in the Chiduku Circuit in which all the congregations of the circuit took part; the meeting was conducted by the Superintendent of the Rusapi District, the Revd M.J. Murphree, assisted by the Revd E.H. Greeley and seven students from the Theological School at Old Umtali. 'The Holy Spirit', the Revd Murphree stated, 'was present in great blessing and power. Many people, some of them church members, confessed that they had been under the power of witch-craft. Under the power of the Spirit, they began to surrender their charms. As the collection grew, a box was placed near the altar where these charms were deposited. On the last Sunday afternoon of the meeting those who had surrendered their charms were given the opportunity of coming forward, taking the charm surrendered and holding it up before the audience of two thousand people, give their testimony of how they had been saved from the power of evil. An open fire was burning outside the tabernacle. At the conclusion of each testimony, the charm was placed on the fire, and all the congregation joined in singing Amen'. A ten-day camp meeting was also held in the Gandanzara Circuit in September, 1930; it was conducted by the Revd M.J. Murphree, assisted by the Revd E.H. Greeley and students from the Theological School at Old Umtali. According to the Revd Murphree, all the congregations of the Circuit, attended the meeting; the results of the meeting were similar to those of the Chiduku Circuit camp meeting.¹⁶⁶

In September, 1934 in the Nyadiri Circuit, the Revd M. Muparutsa and the Revd M. Katsidzira called the people from all the stations together for a ten-day camp meeting. According to the Revd T.A. O'Farrell, much good resulted from this gathering. In May, 1935 a four-day camp meeting was also held in the Nyadiri Circuit. According to the Revd T.A. O'Farrell, the meeting resulted in a good number of conversions and in the reclamation of a number of people who were formerly members of the Church.¹⁶⁷

In 1935 three camp meetings were held in the Old Umtali District; these meetings, according to the Revd M.J. Murphree, resulted in many triumphs of grace.¹⁶⁸

In 1936 several camp meetings were held. Two camp meetings were held in the Old Umtali District. The Marange people joined those of the Zimunya Circuit at the old camp site at Gwese; according to the Revd Murphree, large crowds attended these camp meetings.¹⁶⁹ Camp meetings were held in the Zimunya and Chiduku Circuits; according to the Superintendent of the Umtali- Rusapi District, the Revd R.C. Gates, both meetings were a blessing to the people.¹⁷⁰ A camp meeting was held at Manyika in the Maramba-Fungwi Circuit. According to the Revd T.A. O'Farrell, there were

conversions every day and the uplift in the Circuit, had been exceptional.¹⁷¹ Two camp meetings were held in the Mutambara District. According to the Superintendent of the Mutambara District, the Revd G.A. Roberts, the two meetings had been a blessing to many people, for they quickened the religious spirit throughout the whole District. The Pastor in charge, the Revd Jackson Rugayo, reported: 'The Camp Meetings in Southern Rhodesia are bringing about a great religious harvest. At the last two Mutambara Camp-Meetings, many souls were born again and evil spirits were cast out, in order that the Holy Spirit might have room in the hearts of the people. Our people still need more training, so a Camp-Meeting is a splendid time for evangelising ... the people. The Camp-Meeting is not only for sinners, but also for strengthening Christians and giving power to workers, so during these two Camp-Meetings many of the Christians were made stronger and workers received power.'¹⁷²

In 1937 in the Umtali District, the camp meeting held at Gwese in the Zimunya Circuit, according to the Revd E.L. Sells, was very good. He added: 'Many returned to the Lord and a large number were converted. Chief Zimunya attended part of the services and was greatly helped.' Headman Muradzikwa was converted and gave his testimony at the Camp meeting.¹⁷³

In 1938 a camp meeting was held in the Mtoko District in September. According to the Revd W. Bourgaize, the meeting proved a blessing to many and resulted in the quickening of the religious spirit throughout the District.¹⁷⁴ During the year a camp meeting was held in the Nyadiri District. According to the Revd T.A. O'Farrell, it was the best meeting the District had had. He added: 'Many were brought anew, or for the first time, face to face with things spiritual and received new life. The numbers were larger than at any previous Camp. The people are beginning to look upon it as a fixed institution and I think they would miss it very much now if it should be discontinued.'¹⁷⁵

It should be clear from the above that camp meetings were a vital evangelistic agency in the American Methodist Episcopal Church.

Overall, it was to the training and ordination of African priests, ministers and pastors; the women's movements and the camp meetings that the Christian community among Africans in Zimbabwe between 1924 and 1939, owed its growth and expansion.

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Chapter 10

Summary and Conclusion

This study has chronicled the history of Christian missions in Zimbabwe from the arrival of white settlers in Mashonaland in 1890 to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939.

Upon their arrival in Zimbabwe, representatives of various missionary societies began to establish mission stations in Mashonaland and Manicaland. The generosity of Cecil John Rhodes and the British South Africa Company in offering Christian missionaries financial support as well as large areas of land on which to establish mission stations, made the evangelisation of the people of Mashonaland and Manicaland possible under the security of the new regime. Consequently, several mission stations were established in Mashonaland and Manicaland between 1891 and the outbreak of the Anglo-Ndebele war in July, 1893.

Although some missionaries (for example, A.D. Sylvester, Fr Peter Prestage and Isaac Shimmin) openly and unashamedly supported the British South Africa Company in its war against the Ndebele in the Anglo-Ndebele war of 1893 while others (for example, Bishop Knight Bruce) remained neutral, all missionary societies benefitted from the fall of Ndebele Kingdom consequent upon that war in so far as it made possible, for the first time, the evangelisation of the Ndebele without let or hindrance from the old regime which had now been extinguished.

In the wake of the fall of the Ndebele Kingdom, missionaries opened new mission stations in Matabeleland and Manicaland.

Between 1893 and 1895 missionaries converted some Shona and Ndebele to Christianity but whatever success they had achieved in this regard, was destroyed by the Ndebele and Shona risings which broke out against the British South Africa Company's regime in March and June, respectively, 1896.

We discussed the Ndebele and Shona risings of 1896-7 from missionary sources and other contemporary evidence. We recounted in detail the causes of the Ndebele and Shona risings; the role of the missionaries (for example, Fr Andrew Hartmann, Fr

Marc Barthelemy, the Revd Douglas Pelly and Fr Edward Biehler) in the campaign to suppress the two risings; the martyrdom of prominent African evangelists (for example, James Anta at Hartleyton, Molimile Molele at Nengubo and Bernard Mizeki in Mangwende's country); the great famine which followed the risings; the execution of rebel leaders (for example, Nehanda, Kagubi and Mashonganyika); the missionaries' views of the risings and the prospects for Christianity in Matabeleland and Mashonaland after the risings. The missionaries believed that traditional religion and customs had militated against Ndebele and Shona acceptance of Christianity; they also believed that the execution of the rebel leaders and 'false gods' who had goaded the Ndebele and Shona into rebellion, would open new vistas for Christianity in Matabeleland and Mashonaland.

Between 1897 and 1924 missionaries opened new mission stations in Matabeleland, Mashonaland, Manicaland and the Midlands. It was from the older mission stations established before the Ndebele and Shona risings of 1896-7 and the newer mission stations established between 1897 and 1924 that the Gospel radiated to various parts of the country.

Initially, missionaries found the Ndebele very difficult to evangelise, *inter alia*, because of the general suspicion among the Ndebele of the motives of the missionaries in coming to evangelise them and the strong attachment of the Ndebele to their customs and traditions. But the greatest hindrance to Christianity in Matabeleland from the missionaries' point of view, was the institution of polygamy. The missionaries denounced the institution of polygamy, *inter alia*, because they regarded it as contrary to Christian teachings; they also denounced the concomitant of polygamy, the *lobola* system, *inter alia*, because they regarded it as simply buying and selling of women. This practice, they argued, degraded the position of women in Ndebele society.

Among the Kalanga, missionaries encountered the most stubborn resistance to Christianity from the adherents of the *shumba* system for reasons already explained; they found it practically impossible to effect the conversion of a *shumba* woman even on her death bed.

Missionaries also encountered the most stubborn resistance to Christianity from some of the Ndebele chiefs; the best example was that of Chief Tshitshi who lived near Embakwe mission about eight miles from Empandeni. While Chief Gampu Sithole had reconciled himself to White rule and shrewdly recognised the importance of Western education for his children, he did not embrace Christianity, arguing that he was too old to change his ways.

Initially, the missionaries also found the Shona very difficult to evangelise, *inter alia*, because of the general suspicion among the Shona of the motives of the missionaries in coming to evangelise them and the opposition from some of their chiefs; among these chiefs were Nengubo, Kwenda, Ranga, Paul Kutama, Hama and Manovo. In Manicaland, the most stubborn resistance to Christianity was put up by Chiefs Mutasa, Zimunya and Nyajina.

At the level of ordinary people, missionaries found the old people very difficult to evangelise; this was true not only of Matabeleland but also of Mashonaland and Manicaland. But the greatest hindrance to Christianity in Mashonaland and Manicaland as in Matabeleland from the missionaries' point of view, were the institution of polygamy and the *roora* system. The missionaries denounced the institution of polygamy in Mashonaland and Manicaland for the same reasons that they denounced it in Matabeleland; the same applied to the *roora* system.

Among contemporary informants, opinion is divided on the merits and demerits of polygamy for reasons already explained. But informants are unanimous that *lobola/roora* is still a good custom for reasons already explained. Because the missionaries failed utterly to understand the role of polygamy in African culture in Zimbabwe, they continued to denounce it as a vicious custom and attempted to harness Government support in an effort to suppress polygamy by force. The Government, however, wisely refused to co-operate with the missionaries in suppressing polygamy by force on the ground that it might lead to dangerous unrest among the African population.

In spite of the 'difficulties' posed by polygamy and the *lobola/roora* system, the missionaries did remarkably well between 1897 and 1923. While some chiefs in Matabeleland were still strongly opposed to Christianity, others gladly welcomed the new faith; among these were Majila, a Kalanga chief, and Chief Abednego Sinondo of the Gwanda District. In Mashonaland, some chiefs who had previously been strongly opposed to Christianity, were converted on their death beds; among these were Paul Kutama and Zvimba. The most remarkable example of conversion to Christianity among the Shona chiefs, was that of Chief Chiremba of Epworth whose long and peripatetic career we recounted in some detail. In Manicaland, Chief Mutasa who had previously been strongly opposed to Christianity, eventually relented and invited missionaries of the American Methodist Episcopal Church to come and lead his people into the new faith; so did Chief Zimunya. Elsewhere in Manicaland, three chiefs - Mutambara, Fusire and Gandanzara - responded positively to the coming of the Gospel. At the level of ordinary people, conversions were reported throughout the country.

These conversions were a result of: the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular to enable literate converts to read the Scriptures in their own language; the establishment of Christian villages particularly by the Jesuits at Chishawasha and the Wesleyans at Epworth in order to shield the converts from their 'pagan' environment; and the tireless labours, in God's vineyard, of African catechists and evangelists (for example, Cassiano Ushewokunze at Kutama; Patrick Chanetsa at Murombedzi; Job Tsigu in the American Methodist Episcopal Church; Njamhlope at Embakwe; Petros Kgobe, Jeremias Shumba, Samson Sibanda and Cleopas Hungwe in the Church of Sweden) and African ministers/priests (for example, Sisho Moyo, Mtompe Khumalo and Sitjenkwa Hlabangana in the London Missionary Society; Samuel Mhlanga and Leonard Sagonda in the Anglican Church; and David Mandisonza in the American Methodist Episcopal Church) in witnessing to their own people.

In addition to the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular, the establishment of Christian villages and the work of African catechists, evangelists and ministers in witnessing to their own people, a potent evangelistic agency was Western education.

Between 1898 and 1923, in their program to provide Western education to Africans, missionaries in Matabeleland, Mashonaland, Manicaland and the Midlands, invariably turned their energies to the children for reasons already explained. Initially, parents were reluctant to allow their children to attend school; the children themselves were equally reluctant to attend school. But as the advantages of Western education became evident to the parents and the children, there was a veritable rush on the part of the children to attend school.

Initially, missionary education, as expected, was religious oriented but it was eventually broadened to include academic, industrial and teacher training. An important development during this period, was the opening of boarding schools at major mission centres throughout the country. In addition to academic and religious subjects, missionaries introduced industrial education in their schools not only because of its obvious utility to themselves, the students and the European community at large but also because they were required to do as one of the conditions for earning government grants under the Education Ordinance of 1899, the Education Ordinance of 1903 and subsequent ordinances.

But it was academic education which charmed both the parents and the pupils. As more and more Africans began to regard academic education as the escape route from rural poverty and manual labour, the demand for it correspondingly increased; missionaries were compelled to respond to this demand by improving the quality of

the academic education they provided in their schools without at the same time neglecting industrial education. The training of African teachers was another important development during this period; missionaries introduced teacher training at major centres throughout the country.

An invaluable evangelistic agency between 1893 and 1923, was the ministry of healing; missionaries not only opened hospitals but also dispensaries and clinics at their mission stations. As expected, Africans were initially reluctant to avail themselves of Western medicine because they had no confidence in white doctors. But as the wonders wrought by white doctors became apparent to all, more and more African patients began to go to mission hospitals, dispensaries and clinics for treatment. Medical missionaries also trained African nurses and orderlies at their hospitals, dispensaries and clinics. An important aspect of the ministry of healing during this period, was the care and treatment of African lepers at the leper settlement near Morgenster mission from 1899 to 1923.

From 1924 to 1939 missionaries continued to offer both academic and industrial training in their schools; they also expanded the number of teacher-training centres and boarding schools. In 1927 the Government inaugurated a separate Department of Native Education/Development under the leadership of Mr Harold Jowitt, assisted by four inspectors of schools in order to control, improve and co-ordinate all aspects of African education in the Colony. During Jowitt's regime (1927-1934) the Department of Native Development made a concerted effort to vitalise teacher training in mission schools through frequent inspections, attendance at vacation courses, assistance in the re-organisation of teacher-training schools and the practising schools attached to them and full individual examination of each teacher-in-training in professional subjects at the end of each year. As a result of these efforts, the number of teachers-in-training and the quality of the training offered, increased tremendously; furthermore, a two-year post Standard VI teacher-training course, was inaugurated in January, 1939.

In addition to normal teacher training, the Government also played an active role in the establishment of subsidiary teacher-training courses lasting 100 days at selected mission centres in order to provide rudimentary but valuable training for men and women of little education but proved calibre to enable them to return to their posts better equipped for their tasks and to enable some of them to enter formal teacher-training later on; the objective was to ameliorate the conditions in the kraal schools pending the more accredited professional training of the next generation of teachers who would replace these pioneers. Subsidiary teacher training courses were conducted at St Faith's mission (1929); at Triashill, Chishawasha and Masase

(1930); at Jichidza, St Faith's and Triashill (1931); at St Faith's (1932) and at Wanezi and at St. Faith's (1933).

The launching of a junior secondary education course for Africans by the Anglican Church at St. Augustine's in January, 1939, was a milestone in the history of African education in Zimbabwe and its significance cannot be over-emphasised; hitherto Africans who aspired to acquire secondary education, did so outside the country, especially in South Africa. The precedent set by the Anglican Church, was followed by other churches as well as by the Government after the Second World War.

From 1924 to 1939 medical missionaries continued to minister to the medical needs of the African population of Zimbabwe. The year 1928 was truly a landmark in the history of medical missions in Zimbabwe; in that year the Government began to award grants to missionary societies employing qualified medical doctors and/or certificated nurses engaged in *bona fide* medical work among Africans. Although the grants awarded were hedged about with onerous conditions and were meagre relative to the needs, they nevertheless enabled missionary societies to recruit more medical staff and to train African nurses and orderlies at their hospitals. Missionaries not only expanded existing hospitals, dispensaries and clinics and opened new hospitals, dispensaries and clinics but also intensified the training of African nurses and orderlies. During this period, missionaries continued with the ministry of preaching with unabated zeal; as a result and in spite of the stringent rules and regulations governing church membership, the African Christian community in Zimbabwe, grew and expanded. This growth and expansion was due to several factors: the labours of the missionaries themselves; the work of the African priests, ministers and pastors in witnessing to their own people; the women's organisations and camp meetings with particular reference to the American Methodist Episcopal Church.

It was through the ministry of preaching, the ministry of teaching and the ministry of healing that the African Christian community in Zimbabwe grew and expanded between 1890 and 1939.

Christian missionaries made three important contributions in the history of Zimbabwe. Firstly, in the process of translating the Scriptures into the vernacular, they not only reduced African languages to writing for the first time but also introduced literacy. Secondly, through Western education, they produced a new African elite which played an important role in African advancement in various professions before and after 1939. Missionaries not only set up a vast system of primary schools

and established teacher training centres but also pioneered African secondary education. Thirdly, medical missionaries not only relieved a great deal of suffering among Africans in Zimbabwe especially in the rural areas where initially government hospitals and clinics were either very few or non-existent but also trained African nurses and orderlies at their hospitals, dispensaries or clinics.

The missionary contribution to the history of Zimbabwe was perhaps best summed up by the Revd. Ndabaningi Sithole of the American Congregation Church who wrote in 1970:

It is the credit of the Christian Church in Southern Rhodesia that it pioneered, initiated and piloted African education which has resulted in the revolution of the African mental outlook without which the African in Rhodesia would have found it difficult to cope with the fast-changing conditions of the Africa of the later half of the twentieth century. It was the Christian Church that first introduced literacy which was to give birth to African nationalists, medical doctors, advocates, businessmen, journalists and graduates.¹

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Mr. Stan Mushonga Chimombe, Chishawasha Mission, 4/10/92

Rev. K.S.B. Dhliwayo, Hatfield, Harare, 12th November, 1991.

Pastor S.K. Mundeta, Chikore Mission, 7th May, 1992.

Mr. Benedict Kamangira Kutama, Kutama Village, 11th March, 1992.

Mr. Tshupu Khumalo, Hope Fountain Mission, 20/8/92.

Bishop Philemon M. Khumalo, Montrose, Bulawayo, 19/8/92.

Mr. Wilson Muzambwa, Epworth Mission, 27/9/92.

Mrs. Tshumbu Magdalena Tshuma, Empandeni Mission, 22/10/91.

Mrs. M. Gumbo, Matopo Mission, 24/10/91.

Mrs. Cecilia Gwebu, Hope Fountain Mission, 20/8/92.

Rev. Joshua Richardson Danisa, NICOZ House, Bulawayo, 21/10/91.

Rev. J.M. Zvobgo, Shonganiso Mission, 20th December, 1991.

Mr. Lawrence Vambe, Travel Centre, Harare, 26th July, 1993.

Mr. J.R.D. Chikerema, Lonrho House, Harare, 7th July 1992.

Mr. Timothy Chieza, Old Mutare Mission, 6/5/92.

Mr. Jabulani Hlatywayo, University of Zimbabwe, 14th December, 1993.

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Revd. S.L., Masuku: 19th November, 1991.

6th December, 1991.

Revd. David Pedzisai Mandebvu: 7th October, 1992.

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A

- African Methodist Episcopal Church, 79
 Alheit mission, 67
 All Saints' Mission, Wreningham, 76, 77
 Altona Mission, 130
 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (American Board), 6, 12, 238, 288, 319, 322, 324, 325, 327, 335, 336, 345, 346, 365.
 American Congregational Church, 126, 202, 204
 American Methodist Episcopal Church, 72, 102, 104, 117, 126, 130, 149, 171, 203, 205, 320, 322, 324, 325, 326, 327, 336, 337, 344, 350, 368, 369
 Anglican Church, 320, 322, 324, 325, 327, 335, 336, 337, 369.
 Anglicans, 78, 125, 150, 237
 Arnoldene Mission, 74
 Associated Churches of Christ in New Zealand, 79.

B

- Berlin Missionary Society, 67
 Brethren In Christ Church, 66, 67, 99, 222, 225, 295, 321, 323, 324, 326, 336.
 British South Africa Company, 11, 23, 39, 40, 72, 113, 366

C

- Centenary mission, 66, 156
 Chibi mission, 67
 Chikore mission, 12, 71, 72, 204, 238, 239, 288, 289
 Chimanza mission, 67

- Chishawasha Mission, 5, 13, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 42, 47, 50, 54, 55, 56, 68, 103, 120, 121, 127, 128, 159, 160, 161, 162, 167, 178, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 262, 263, 369, 370.
 Christian Villages, 127, 128, 129.
 Church of Christ, 210, 336
 Church of Sweden, 80, 131, 149, 262, 293, 294, 295, 321, 323, 326, 331, 335, 369

D

- Dadaya Mission, 79, 210
 Department of Native Development, 258, 259, 260, 261, 264, 370.
 Department of Native Education, 249, 256, 370
 Dominican Sisters, 4, 5, 159
 Dombodema mission, 11, 152, 156, 157.
 Domboshawa Government School, 184, 185, 187, 188
 Driefontein mission, 6, 9, 70, 164, 165
 Dutch Reformed Church, 4, 12, 67, 126, 150, 165, 166, 204, 236, 257, 263, 320, 323, 324, 335, 336, 346, 353.

E

- Embakwe mission, 70, 97, 98, 120, 130, 367, 369
 Empandeni mission, 1, 4, 30, 47, 48, 71, 113, 120, 130, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 367.
 Epiphany mission, 77
 Epworth, 5, 125, 129, 369

F

- Fairfield Girls' School, 176, 177, 207

Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland,
80

G

Glenada farm, 74
Gokomere mission, 69, 70, 104, 163
Gutu mission, 67, 293

H

Hadfield Commission Report, 247,
248
Hartleyton mission, 4, 5, 101
Holy Cross mission, 70
Hope Fountain, 1, 47, 48, 49, 66, 119,
131, 132, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156,
215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220.
Howard Institute, 5, 301

I

Ingwenya mission, 80
Inyati mission, 1, 47, 119, 152, 215,
216, 219, 220

J

Jichidza mission, 6, 7, 263, 371.
Jesuits, 1, 69, 113, 114, 120, 153, 228,
229, 232, 369.

K

Kwenda mission, 5, 118, 208, 209
Kutama mission, 71, 101, 116, 117,
162, 163, 232, 233, 234, 369

L

Lobola/roora, 95, 96, 104, 105, 108,
109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115,
319, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330,
331, 332, 333, 334, 367, 368
London Missionary Society, 1, 6, 10,
11, 47, 48, 119, 125, 131, 132, 150,
152, 153, 215, 247, 321, 323, 324,
326, 335, 336, 337, 369

M

Makumbe mission, (DRC), 67
Manama mission, 295
Maronda Mashanu mission, 77
Marshall Hartley mission, 67
Masase mission, 81, 262, 263, 294,
295, 370
Matopo mission, 66, 99, 152, 153,
154, 202, 222, 223, 224, 225, 296
Monte Cassino, 67, 68, 122, 163, 164,
234, 235, 236
Mnene mission and hospital, 80, 81,
210, 293, 294, 295
Morgenster mission and hospital, 4,
126, 204, 205, 236, 237, 293, 310
Mt Makomwe mission, 74, 75, 123,
124
Mt Selinda mission, 6, 71, 72, 178,
202, 204, 238, 288, 289, 290, 292
Mtshabezi mission, 67, 153, 154, 222,
223, 295, 296
Murewa mission, 75
Murombedzi, 71, 369
Mutambara mission and dispensary,
74, 123, 124, 206, 207, 302, 304,
305, 306, 309
Mutoko mission, 75
Mzondo mission, 69

N

Native Affairs Committee of Enquiry, 155, 178
 Nengubo mission, 5, 43
 Nengubo Training Institution, 157, 158
 Ngomahuru, 205
 Nyadiri mission and hospital, 74, 75, 302, 307, 308, 309
 Nyakatsapa mission, 75

O

Old Umtali mission, 72, 73, 74, 75, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 203, 205, 207, 208, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 302, 303, 304, 306, 309, 344, 345

P

Pamushana mission, 67
 Pioneer Column, 3
 Polygamy, 94, 95, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 319, 325, 326, 367, 368

R

Ranga mission, 101
 Roman Catholic Church, 320, 322, 324, 325, 336, 346
 Rukwadzano, 350, 351, 352
 Rusitu mission, 78, 309
 Ruwadzano, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350

S

Salvation Army, 5, 257, 301, 319, 322, 324, 325, 327, 336
 Sandringham mission, 67
 Seventh Day Adventist Church, 11, 321, 323, 324, 326, 336, 345
 Sisters of Notre Dame, 71

Sisters of the Precious Blood, 68
 Solusi mission, 11, 49, 50, 94, 119, 221, 222
 South African General Mission, 78, 309, 320, 322, 324, 326, 327, 336
 Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference, 247, 248, 254, 255, 256, 264, 265, 266, 270, 328
 St Aidan's mission, Bembesi, 78
 St Augustine's mission, 3, 75, 76, 133, 166, 167, 168, 169, 178, 237, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 371
 St Bernard's mission, Macheke, 77
 St Columba's mission, Bulawayo, 78, 178
 St David's mission, Bonda and hospital, 77, 78, 132, 169, 301, 302
 St Faith's mission, Rusape, 77, 170, 210, 261, 262, 263, 370, 371
 St Francis mission, Selukwe, 78
 St Joseph's mission, Hama, 70, 102, 103, 121
 St Mary's mission, Hunyani, 78
 St Monica, 76, 78, 169
 Sungano yaMadzimai, 353
 Swedish Church Mission, 336, 345, 353

T

Tegwani, 67, 220, 221
 Tjimali mission, 66
 Tjolotjo Government School, 184, 185, 187
 Trappist Order, 67
 Trappists, 67, 68, 163
 Triashill mission, 12, 67, 122, 123, 262, 263, 309, 370, 371

V

Vashandiri, 346, 353

W

Waddilove Training Institution and
Hospital, 158, 159, 225, 226, 227,
228, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301,
343

Wanczi mission, 263, 296, 371

Washburn Memorial Hospital, 307

Wesleyan Methodist Church, 4, 321,
324, 325, 326, 36, 339, 340, 341,
346

Wesleyans, 5, 11, 12, 113, 125, 129,
130, 150, 157, 158, 208, 220, 225,
369

Willis F. Pierce Memorial Hospital,
204, 288, 290

Z

Zimuto Mission, 67

- Addison, 227
 Ablett, R, J, 158
 Adlam, Matron L, 301, 302
 Aegidius, Bro. Pfister, 68
 Alexander, Bro. Ronald, 76
 Alexander, Revd. T. T, 187
 Alphen, Van, 233
 Alvord, E, D, 71
 Amadeus, Fr. 68
 Anderson, W, H, 11, 49, 50, 119
 Anta, James, 5, 12, 42, 43, 367
 Apel, Fr. 69
 Arndt, Anna, 73
 Ashworth, Canon, 78
 Atkinson, Professor, N, 179
 Badenhurst, Revd. P, A. 67
 Baker, Revd. Robert H, 264
 Balfour, Canon, 3
 Barbera, Bro. 69
 Barnes, H, 76, 79
 Barrett, David B, 112
 Barthelemy, Fr. Marc, 12, 26, 27, 367
 Basila, Sister, 231
 Battersby, Adjutant A, 301
 Beal, Colonel 26, 37,
 Beattie, Revd. T, O, 78
 Beaven, Bishop Frederick, Hicks, 132
 Beetham, Revd. Emory, 72
 Belisi, Wellington, 5
 Bell, Edith, M, 74
 Benn, Barbara, 289, 300,
 Bennett, Elsie, 72
 Bentley, 26
 Bentley, T, H, 159
 Bergman, 263
 Bernander, E, 81
 Bernander, Gustav, 293
 Bert, Abbie, 66, 69, 70
 Bert, Fr. Charles, 164, 165
 Bhebe, Professor N, 1
 Bick, Fr. Charles, 71
 Biehler, Fr. Edward, 13, 34, 35, 36,
 37, 39, 40, 71, 96, 151, 155,
 159, 161, 162, 367
 Biermann, Bro. William, 5
 Biscoe, 38
 Bjorklund, Sister Ellen, 207, 208, 303
 Blackledge, Bro. 232
 Blakeston, 39
 Bonaventura, Fr. 68
 Bontemps, Fr. Peter, 70
 Book, Bro. Augustus, 5
 Book, Grace, 223, 295
 Book, S, 223
 Boos, Fr. Anthony, 5, 13, 34, 36, 50,
 56, 69,
 Borerwe, Revd. Josiah 334
 Botha, Revd. I, 205
 Bourdillon, M. F. C. 109
 Bourgaize, Revd. W, 75, 308, 350,
 351, 355
 Bowen, Michael, 4, 118
 Brady, J, B 168, 222
 Brand, C, 266
 Brand, Captain George, 28
 Brerton, Sergeant H, 132
 Breiten, Bro. 233
 Brescoe, 38
 Brewin, Elaine, 77
 Brigg, Revd. Oswald, H, 93, 99, 150,
 202, 208, 209
 Broderick, Revd. G.E.P, 77, 78, 170
 Brown, Revd. Holman, 187
 Brown, Revd. W. G, 215, 216, 220,
 232
 Brubaker, G, 296
 Brubaker, Bishop H, H, 295
 Bruno, Fr. 104
 Buchwalter, A, L, 74, 75
 Buck, Sister Theresa, 292
 Buck, Revd. H, 76, 78
 Bullock, Charles, 109, 215
 Burnet, Amos, 346
 Burnet, Dr. T, G. 298
 Burnet, Lilian, 158, 159
 Burton, I, B, 49
 Buskens, Bro. 70
 Callan, Fr. Bertram 232
 Canisius, Peter, 52
 Carnegie, Revd. David, 2, 10, 66, 119,

156

- Carmichael, Dr. A. S. 11
 Carter, Revd. Herbert, 220, 221, 265,
 266, 268, 333, 343
 Cass, Captain Edward T, 5, 45
 Casset, Fr. 69
 Chancellor, John, 216
 Chanetsa, Patrick, 71, 369
 Cheke, Katherine, 350
 Chemhunga, 206
 Chichester, Bishop Aston, 233, 346
 Chieza Timothy, 172
 Chieza, Revd. Philip, 344, 345
 Chihota, Furamera, 118
 Chihota, Revd. Simon J, 118, 341, 343
 Chikerema, James, R, Dambaza, 71
 Chikichi, 35
 Chikonzo, Lazarus, 306
 Chikore, Fr. Isidore, 346
 Chikosi, Martha, 350
 Chimbadzwa, Revd. Josiah, 344
 Chimombe, Paradza, Adam, 106, 110
 Chimombe, Stan Mushonga, 106, 110,
 128
 Chimonyo, Lydia, 350
 Chimonyo, Revd. Obadiah, 344, 345
 Chingono, Julia, 350
 Chipunza, Revd. Edward Bernard,
 334, 337, 338
 Chiremba, Chief, 118
 Chirenje, Dr. J. O. M. 79
 Chirewa, Lydia, 350
 Chirgwin, Revd. A. M, 220
 Chirisere, 53
 Chisnall, 158, 225
 Chitombo, Revd. Jonah, 344, 345
 Chitombo, Moud, 350
 Christelow, Revd. S. J, 77, 78, 132
 Clark, Grace, 176, 177
 Clarke, Gladys I, 216, 217, 218
 Clement, Revd. 233
 Climenhaga, Revd. 224
 Clissold, Revd. J. W, 77, 78
 Coffin Shirley, D, 73, 117
 Coffin Sophia, J, 73, 75, 176
 Coleman, Dora A, 301
 Condon, Sister Francis, 4
 Condry, J, 158, 225, 226, 240, 241, 242
 Cooper, Otto, 12, 24
 Copper, Trooper, 24
 Coppin, Bishop L. J, 79
 Cosgrave, Mother Patrick, 4, 5, 6
 Coupland, John, 78
 Cowling, A. G, 217, 220
 Craig, Miss 349
 Crane, Revd. E. W, 334
 Cripps, Revd. Arthur, Shearly, 76, 126,
 338
 Crook, Captain D, 5
 Cullis, Miss 78
 Cunningham, 26,
 Curteis, 38
 Curtis, S. J, 266
 Curtis, S.F, 238
 Dachs, A. J, 129
 Daignault, Fr. Alphonse, 5
 Dalby, Miss Annie, 76 78
 Dambaza, Joseph, 71, 232
 Daneel, M. L, 204
 Danisa, Revd. Joshua, Richardson,
 110
 Dart, F. S, 71
 Davidson, Frances, 66, 93, 94, 99,
 152, 153, 202
 Davis, Miss 302
 Davies, H.B, 225, 226
 Davies, Revd. R. B, 78
 Davies, Bro. W, A, 76
 de Lenfestey, S, 237
 de Wit, Revd. P. A, 78
 Dewitt, Revd. James, L, 73
 Dhlakama, Revd. Ngangeni, 345
 Dhliwayo, Frederick Musongeya, 290,
 292
 Dhliwayo, Revd. K. S. B, 106
 Dixon, Madeline, 349
 Dlamini, Fute, 153
 Dowling, 233
 Dry, Sister Madge, 296, 297, 298, 300
 Du Plessis, Revd. L. A, 67
 Dube, H, 349
 Dube, Revd. Hohoza, 345

- Duncan, 36
 Duthie, George, 167
 Dyott, 270
 Dysart, J, 239
 Dziribi, 51
 Edwards, William, 34, 102, 103,
 Ehnes, Revd. Morris, W, 72
 Elkins, 26
 Elliot, Revd. W. A, 2, 10, 48, 119, 125,
 156, 157
 Engel, Adda, E, 66
 Engcl, Bishop Jesse, 66
 Ennatha, Sister, 309
 Eriksson, Pastor Sigfrid, 81
 Eshelman, Revd. C, F, 266
 Etheridge, Revd. Edward Harold, 76,
 77, 125, 132, 168, 180, 185,
 186,
 Eva, Revd. G, H, 5, 12, 24, 27, 30
 Faku, Revd. Clifford, 245, 344
 Farrant, Jean, 45, 46
 Ferris, Revd. James, E, 72, 73
 Fleischer, Fr. A, 68
 Fleming, Dr. Andrew, 204, 205
 Foggin, L, M, 164, 248
 Foster, Revd. H., 41, 42, 45
 Fourie, Revd. P. H, 67
 Francis, Sister, 12
 Farquhar, J.H, 227, 234, 235, 236,
 258, 263,
 Frederica, Sister, 12
 Frey, Emma, 66, 67
 Frey, Revd. Harvey, J, 66, 67, 153
 Frommknecht, Sister Constantia, 4
 Fuller Revd. C.C, 71, 126
 Fuller, Edith, 290, 292
 Fusire, Chief, 117, 368
 Gabriel, 13
 Gandanzara, Chief, 117, 172, 368
 Gardner, Revd. W, C, 127
 Garton, Edna, 221
 Gates, Revd. R.C, 74, 104, 149, 150,
 239, 241, 242, 243, 244, 354
 Gaul, Bishop William Thomas, 13,
 77, 132
 Gazi, Revd. Kasin, 341, 342
 Gelfand, Professor M, 105, 109, 306
 Gibbons, Kate, 78
 Gillanders, Revd. J, 78
 Gilson, Juliette, H, 71
 Goddard, Ruby, 74
 Goodall, N, 335
 Grantham, Revd. W, T, 101
 Gray, Revd. Douglas, 343
 Gray, Ethel, 72
 Greeley, Revd. Eddy, H, 73, 74, 123,
 127, 354
 Grey, Earl, 48
 Guepratte, Lieutenant, 35
 Gugin, Sister I.P, 303, 304, 305, 308
 Gumba, 172
 Gumbo, M, 110
 Gundusa, 53
 Gurney, Dr. Samuel, 75, 102, 103,
 124, 203, 205, 206, 207, 307
 Gwetu, Revd. Paul, 334, 337
 Gwebu, Cecilia, 110
 Hack, R, B, 71
 Halder, Hubert, 12
 Halder, William, 12
 Hall, R, N, 66
 Hallward, Canon John, 76
 Hama, Chief, 102, 103, 121, 368
 Hammar, Revd. Alex, 80
 Hadfield, F.L, 79
 Hadfield Report, 247
 Hansson, Sister Ruth, 244, 303, 304,
 306
 Hardaker, Mrs L, P, 349
 Hardaker, Revd. L.P, 248
 Harris, Miss 301
 Harris, Rutherford, 4, 11
 Hartley, Revd. Marshall, 9, 27, 30, 39,
 40, 41, 42, 101, 125, 150, 209
 Hartmann, Fr. Andrew, 3, 26, 130, 366
 Hartzell, Bishop Joseph, 72, 74, 171
 Haslinger, Sister Ignatius, 4
 Hatch, Revd. J, E, 79, 126
 Hatendi, Bishop P, R, 105, 190
 Hatendi, Revd. Stephen, 337, 338
 Hatfield, W, 78
 Haupt, Bro. John, 71

- Haworth, S, 219, 220, 224, 227,
 229, 230, 231, 233
 Heinkel, Herman, 73
 Heise, Alice, 66
 Hellden, Revd. Adolf, 80
 Helliwell, Mrs, 304
 Helm, Revd. C, D, 2, 125
 Helm, Dr. John, T, 204, 205, 293, 310
 Hershey, Dorothy, 296
 Hess, A, E, 75
 Hess, Stella, 177
 Hesse, Fr. L, 122, 161
 Hill, C, 76
 Hill, Sister Sebastian, 12
 Hlabangana, Revd. Sitjenkwa, 131,
 132, 336
 Hlatywayo, Jabulani, 288
 Hlazo, Stephen, 80
 Hluganisa, Chief, 97, 99
 Hodgson, William, 73, 74, 158, 175
 Hofmeyer, Professor, 4
 Hogana, 43
 Holderness, Revd. R, 334
 Hole, Hugh, Marshall, 22, 24
 Holleman, J. F, 109
 Holonga, Levi, 300
 Hornig, Fr. Joseph, 70
 Hove, Pastor J, B, 345, 346
 Howard, Revd. H, N, 73, 124, 206
 Howells, 79
 Hudson, M, A, 266
 Hudson, Marjory, 225, 226
 Hugo, Revd. C, H, 67, 126, 330, 331,
 333
 Hungwe, Cleopas, 131, 369
 Huntley, Miss C. D, 266
 Hyacinth, Fr. 67, 68
 Ibbotson, Revd. Percy, 254
 Ivers, 26
 Jackson, Dr. 304, 306
 Jacoba, Mother, 12
 Jamera, 207
 James, Revd. Henry, I, 73, 172, 175,
 206, 344
 Jameson, Dr. L, S, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,
 10
 Jangano, Ester, 350
 Jennings, Revd. A. E, 218
 Jewell, 222
 Johnstone, Harriette, E, 73
 Johnson, Bro. W, 76
 Jonas, 118
 Jones, Revd. Neville, 125, 153, 187,
 216, 217, 218, 248
 Jordan, 233
 Joseph, 13
 Jowitt, Harold, 228, 253, 254, 255,
 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 262,
 263, 370
 Judson, Captain 33
 Kachidza, Revd. Henry, 341, 343
 Kagubi, 50, 51, 52, 54, 56, 367
 Kamusono, Lydia, 350
 Kapuya, John, 45, 77
 Kasambira, Revd. Silas, 344, 345
 Katsidzira, Emma, 350
 Katsidzira, Revd. Hosea, 344
 Katsidzira, Revd. M, 354
 Kauffman, Sister Martha, 295
 Kawadza, Abraham, 350
 Keigwin, H. S, 182, 183, 184, 185,
 186, 187, 188
 Kempe, Pastor A, R, 126
 Kerr Fr. Henry Schomberg 5 6, 12,
 13,
 Ketterer, Fr. 232
 Kgobe, Petrus, 131, 369
 Khumalo, Revd. Mtompe, 131, 336,
 369
 Khumalo, Bishop Philemon, M, 106,
 110
 Khumalo, Tshupu, 106
 Kidd, Dudley, 78
 Kilduff, Sister Amica, 4
 Knight-Bruce, Bishop G, W, H, 3, 6, 8,
 9, 13, 45, 75, 76, 366
 Knights, Revd. A. C, 333
 Kohlquist, Sister, Maria, 210, 293,
 294, 295
 Kury, Bro. Alphonsus, 34, 35, 36
 Kutama, Benedict, Kamangira, 106
 Kutama, Chief Paul, 102, 116, 368

- Kwenda, Chief, 101, 368
 Lady, 223
 Lawrence, Harold, G, 302
 Lawrence, Dr. William, T, 204, 288,
 289, 290 292,
 Leary, Revd. J, W, 78
 Lebouf, Fr. A, 36, 41, 130, 152
 Legg, Katie, 309
 Lehman, Miss Edna, 296
 Leo, 35
 Leopold, Bro, 67
 Lestsoalo, Azael, 220
 Lickorish, Fr. Bernard, 71
 Likande, 51
 Liljestrand, Revd. Alex , 80
 Lindner, Bro. Joseph, 5, 70
 Lloyd, Revd. Edgar, 77
 Lobengula, 1, 2 7, 8, 9, 10
 Loch, Sir Henry, 8
 Lodge, Miss H, L, 72
 Loffler, Bro. Joseph, 5
 Lois, C. R, 334
 Loubiere, Fr. J.B, 71, 102, 117, 127,
 162,
 Louw, Revd. A, A, 4, 253, 266
 Louw, Jnr. A, A, 266
 Louw, Mrs C, S, 126
 Loveless, Revd. G.H, 209
 Low, Dr. S, H, 309
 Lundquist, Miss Edith, 71
 Mabote, Revd. S, J, 79
 Macglasham, Major, 35
 Machiri, Esther, 306
 Machiri, Revd. Jonah, 344, 345
 Machiri, Lilian, 350
 Machiri, Revd. Patrick, 344, 345
 Mackay, Revd. J, R, 80
 Mackenzie, A. R, 223, 224
 Macrae, Dr. 305
 Maddocks, Thomas, 26
 Mahon, Captain E, 5
 Majila, Chief, 115, 368
 Maketo, Esther, 298, 300,
 Makgatho, Revd. M,D, 79
 Makin, Lancelot, 12
 Makin, Leonard, 12
 Makuto, Naomi, 350
 Malin, Fr. 70
 Malusallila, Revd. George L, 341, 342
 Mandebvu, Revd. D, P, 112
 Mandhlana, 53
 Mandisodza, Revd. David, 133, 337,
 344, 345, 369
 Mandizera, Lydia, 350
 Magati, 54
 Mangwende, Chief, 45, 46
 Mann, Esther, 296
 Mansill, W,W, 79
 Mantiziba, Samuel, 300,
 Mantiziba, Revd. Peter B, 341
 Manovo, Chief, 102
 Manu, 224
 Mapfumo, Antoni, 233
 Mapondera, Revd. Enoch, 341, 343
 Maramba, Revd. Johnson, 345
 Marange, Edith, 350
 Marange, Revd. Thomas, 344, 345,
 352
 Marange, Revd. Titus, 344
 Maravanyika, Professor O. E. K, 227
 Marconess, Fr. Francis, 69
 Maremba, 53
 Marsh, Dorothy, 349
 Mashungaidze, Dr. Elleck K, 2
 Mashungaidze, Revd. Josiah C, 341,
 343
 Mashonganyika, 50, 51, 52, 367
 Masinga, Rachel, 154
 Masuku, Pastor S, L, 107, 111
 Mate, Solomon, 76
 Mathlare, David, 221
 Matimba, Revd. Elfric, 337, 338
 Mauger, F. G, 240, 242, 243, 244
 Mawoyo, Cecilia, 350
 Mayinza, Jim, 119
 Mayr, Fr. Franz, 68, 122
 Mazangunga, 53
 Mazoe, John, 76
 Mazvimbakupa, Chief, 24
 Mazwi, 119
 Mhambo, Revd. David, 244
 Mcintosh, R, 158, 161, 162, 168,

- 222, 223, 228, 229
 Mead, Elder F. L., 119
 Mellon, Bro. Patrick, 69, 70
 Merry, Guy, 221, 233
 Meyer, Bro. Henry, 5, 69
 Mgugu, Dinah, 289, 300
 Mhlanga, Elsie Manyadzeni, 290, 292
 Mhlanga, Revd. Samuel, 131, 132,
 334, 334, 337, 369
 Mizeki, Bernard, 3, 45, 46, 47, 77, 367
 Mkandla, Revd. Senzani, 336
 Mlalazi, Pendula, 221
 Mnyama, Revd. S., 341, 343
 Mocketsi, Laura, 300
 Mogale, 43
 Moketsi, John, 42
 Molele, Molimile, 5, 42, 43, 44, 45,
 367
 Montgomery, Dr. J., 306
 Montgomery, Dr. Stanley, R., 307
 Monyongani, 53
 Mooti, Simon, 132
 Moreland, 228
 Morley-Wright, Revd. H.H., 226
 Moyer, Miss Emma Verda, 296
 Moyo, Revd. Sisho, 131, 336, 369
 Mtshede, Revd. Andria K., 341
 Mukombiwa, Revd. Zachariah, 344,
 345
 Mullikin, Miss Pearl, 75, 175
 Mundeta, Pastor S. K., , 106
 Munjoma, Edith, 350
 Munjoma, Revd. Isaiah, 344
 Munyarari, Chief, 172
 Muparutsa, Revd. Moses, 344, 345,
 354
 Mupikata, Esther, 350
 Muradzikwa, Headman, 355
 Murapa, Nathaniel, 132
 Murphree, Revd. M.J., 74, 130, 244,
 266, 345, 350, 351, 353, 354
 Murray, Revd. G. H., 166
 Murray, Revd. G. S., 293
 Murray, Revd. H.W., 248, 253, 293
 Musa, Revd. Enoch, 341, 343
 Mashindu, 53
 Mutambara, Chief, 117, 172, 368
 Mutandwa, Kamillo, 231
 Mutasa, Chief, 102, 117, 172, 206,
 368
 Mutendi, Bishop Samuel, 335
 Mutwa, 45, 46, 47
 Muzambwa, Wilson, 110, 118, 129
 Muzampi, 51, 52
 Mvenuri, 53
 Myers, Miss Nellie, 292,
 Napa, Ngala, 220
 Naseyi, 132
 Ncube, Revd. M. C., 79
 Ndebele, Thomas, 300
 Ndlovu, Matambo, 6
 Ndowa, 53
 Nduna, Revd. David, 246
 Nehanda, 50, 51, 52, 54, 367
 Nemapare, Revd. E. T. J., 341, 343
 Nenguwo, Chief, 101
 Ngege, Chief, 80
 Ngonyama, Revd. Reginald, 245, 344,
 345
 Nicholas, Miss, 159, 168
 Nicot, Fr. V., 53
 Nightingale, Revd. E.G., 266
 Nivard, Bro. 67
 Njamhlope, 130, 131, 369
 Nkomo, Revd. Tapera, 345
 Noble, Revd. Frank, 248
 Norton, 22, 34
 Nourse, Miss Emma, D., 75, 176, 206,
 207
 Ntansha, 53
 Nyabako, Revd. Gibson, 334, 337,
 338, 339
 Nyajina, Chief, 102, 103, 206, 368
 Nyembezi, Miss A.D., 349
 Nzipo, John, 76
 Odilo, Fr., 68
 O'Farrell, Revd. T. A., 74, 117, 133,
 307, 308, 328, 354, 355, 357
 O'Hca, Fr. J., 232, 266
 O'Neil, Fr. J., 91, 92, 94, 95, 97, 98,
 100, 102, 103, 121, 122, 123,
 130, 163

- Orlandini, Revd. H. H, 67
 Omer, A.J, 71, 239
 Osborn, Dr. Sidney, 208, 209
 Othenius, Pastor, Josef, 80, 81, 126, 345
 Ottens, 26
 Owen, Dr. Dudley, A, 77
 Page, Sister Lorna, 302
 Paget, Bishop Edmund, 264, 267, 270,
 Paisley, J, G, 74, 75
 Palmer, Revd. S, 222
 Pancratius, Sister, 12
 Parker, Revd. E, J, 132
 Parmenter, Sister Oma, M, 207, 307
 Parsons, Dr. L. G, 202
 Pascoe, Captain John, 5
 Pattis, Dr. Johann, 309
 Pedzeni, Helen, 350
 Pelly, Revd. Douglas, 3, 13, 28, 29, 38, 39, 45, 46, 367
 Penney, Sister Oril, A, 303, 305, 306
 Persson, Sister Elin, 294
 Pile, Philip, 221
 Plumer, Colonel, 27
 Posselt, F.W.T, 108, 112, 208
 Prestage, Peter I, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 30, 47, 48, 94, 95, 113, 366
 Prior, Miss Mary, 77
 Pswarayi, Revd. Josiah, 337, 338
 Puff, Bro. Anthony, 35
 Pukwani, Miss Joyce, 302
 Quince, Charles, 216
 Quinn, Revd. H, 78
 Quinton, 177
 Radasi, Revd. J, B, 80
 Ramushu, Revd. Josiah, 5, 209
 Ramushu, Revd. W.J, 341, 343
 Raney, 78, 79
 Ranga, Chief, 101, 368
 Ranger, Professor T, O, 22, 23, 25
 Rasmussen, Helen, E, 73, 172
 Rea, Revd. W. F, 129
 Reed, Revd. Cullen, 150
 Rees, Miss, 300
 Rees, Bowen, 2, 66, 156
 Reid, Revd. M, H, 73
 Rexrode, Miss Sadie, M, 74, 75
 Reynecke, Miss M, 293,
 Reyneke, Revd. 187
 Rhodes, Cecil John, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 30, 67, 366
 Richartz, Fr. F, 5, 13, 25, 26, 34, 35, 40, 41, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 71, 103, 104
 Rickland, Revd. V. R, 330
 Robert, Fr. 68
 Roberts, Revd. G, A, 73, 74, 173, 174, 175, 240, 243, 306, 355
 Robinson, Miss, 78
 Robinson, Virgil, 49, 94
 Robson, N, H, 72
 Romuald, Bro, 67
 Ronchi, Fr. Joseph, 69
 Rorke, Edgar, 12
 Ross, 29
 Routledge, 39
 Roux, Revd. J. F, 67
 Roxburgh, Revd. W, J, 75
 Rudd, Charles D, 2
 Rudd Concession, 1
 Rudd, Miss J. G, 230, 231, 235
 Rudolphine, Mother, 164
 Rugayo, Revd. Jackson, 355
 Rugayo, Emily, 350
 Runge, Fr. Carl, 269
 Rush, C.E.O, 225
 Rusike, Revd. Matthew J, 341, 342
 Ryan, Mary I, 301
 Rydell, Sister Rosa, 304
 Sadie, Miss, 223
 Sagonda, Revd. Leonard, 131, 132, 369
 Samkange, Revd. Thompson D, 341, 342, 343
 Sanders, Miss, 78
 Sandstrom, Pastor Josef, 80, 81
 Saunders, Miss Agnes, 77
 Sauramba, Else, 350
 Schmitz, Fr. Emil, 70, 102
 Scott, Captain R, H, 5
 Seagar, 220
 Seale, Lieutenant T, 5

- Searle, S, C, 73
 Sechrist, E, L, 73, 173
 Seed, Fr. H, 102, 116, 117
 Sckgoma, Revd. H, 334
 Sells, Revd. E. L, 203, 306, 351, 352, 355,
 Selmes, Revd. J. H, 76
 Selous, F, C, 26
 Senda, Bishop M, S, 107
 Sharp, Revd. Alfred, 129
 Sheriff, John, 79
 Shimmin, Revd. Isaac, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 23, 25, 27, 31, 32, 33, 42, 43, 44
 Shimmonite, Jessie, 153
 Shum, Revd. A, C, 78
 Shumba, Revd. Ezra, 346
 Shumba, Jeremias, 131
 Sibanda, Samson, 131
 Simon, Bro. 67
 Simpson, Revd. J, E, 77
 Sinondo, Chief Abednego, 116
 Sinyanga, Celia, 300
 Sithole, Elsie Tongase, 290, 292
 Sithole, Chief Gampu, 97, 99
 Sithole, Revd. N, 372
 Sketchley, Revd. G. H, 209
 Skold, Pastor, Wilhelm, 80, 81
 Smallwood, Miss, 159, 225
 Smith, E.H, 234
 Smith, Bro. S, 76
 Smith, E.W, 334, 335, 336
 Soderstrom, Revd. Hugo, 130
 Springer, Revd. John, M, 73, 104, 117, 123, 124, 171, 173
 Stanlake, Revd, John, W, 11, 27, 32, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 95, 99, 100, 115, 159
 Stanley, Sir Herbert, 268, 269
 Stapelberg, Miss C, 293
 Stark, George, 227, 229, 230, 263
 Steigerwald, Bishop P.H, 66, 152
 Stempfel, Fr. Anthony, 69
 Steyn, Dr. M, H, 293
 Sukuma, Revd. Elliot, 244 245
 Sturdervant, Elder M, C, 119
 Swormstedt, Miss Virginia, 73
 Sykes, Fr. Richard, 13, 23, 37, 94, 95, 105, 111, 112, 114, 115, 120, 121, 123, 150, 151,
 Sykes, William, 6, 125
 Sylvester, Revd. A.D, 6, 366
 Tambo, Revd. Cyprian, 337, 338
 Tamela, Miss Nora, 349
 Taoneyi, Simon, 231
 Tarr, 222
 Tarumbwa, Revd. Lucian, 337, 338
 Tasman, Fr. 232
 Taylor, Revd. H. E, 74, 244, 246, 266
 Taylor, Dr. Denys, 302
 Tembo, Gray, 159
 Temple, Revd. C, H, 99
 Theron, Johannes, 75
 Thomas, Revd. T, M, 125
 Thompson, Dr. W. L, 202, 204, 288
 Tilander, Dr. Nils, 293, 294, 295
 Till, C.S, 73, 173, 174, 175
 Tubbs, Miss Lulu, M, 75
 Tontz, Miss Minnie, 292
 Tonz, M, A, 72
 Tregidgo, W, 221
 Tripp, Elder G, B, 11
 Tshitshi, Chief, 97, 98
 Tshuma, Tshumbu, Magdalena, 110, 151
 Tsiga, Job, 205, 206, 369
 Turo, Fr. Simon, 346
 Tull, Revd. L, E, 307
 Tulloch, Rosa, C, 72
 Tutani, Samuel, 5
 Tyeza, Lilian, 289, 300
 Tyeza, Revd. Sam N, 341, 342
 Upcher, Canon James, Hay, 22, 46, 77
 Ushewokunze, Cassiano, 130, 369
 Ushewokunze, Chivinda, 71
 Uys, N, E, 303, 304
 Vambe, Lawrence, 234
 Van Der Merwe, Revd. W. J, 335, 353
 Victor, 51, 52, 53
 Vincent, Sister, 12
 Vincentia, Sister, 309
 Vlok, Revd. M, 187
 Waddilove, Bro. 231

- Waddilove, Josiah, 158
Wagner, Revd. R. F, 244, 245, 345
Wahl, Sister M, 293
Walden, Revd. A. E, 220
Wallace, R. B, 74, 75, 174, 175
Walton, Revd. Avon, 101
Walton, W. G, 306
Waltson, Bro. 234
Warwick, D, 222
Wata, 53
Waters, Miss W. W, 227
Watkins, Revd. Owen, 4, 118
White, James, 44.
White, Revd. John, 12, 24, 25, 31, 32,
39, 40, 42, 44, 101, 108, 118,
125, 159, 226, 248,
Whiteside, John, 66, 125
Whitney, Sister Alice, 308
Wilder, Revd. G. A, 126
Wilhelm, Fr. 70
Wilkerson, George, 152, 153
Wilkinson, Mabel, 301
Williams, Dr. 204
Williams, Revd. J. L, 78
Williams, Richard, C, 156
Willis, Dr. W. H, 289, 292
Willsdon, D. F. V, 217, 218
Wilson, Allan, 12
Wilson, Revd. J. W, 78
Winger, Miss A. E, 222, 224
Winter, Fr. Alban, 266, 268, 269, 270
Withnell, Fr. William, 70, 164, 165
Wodehouse, Revd. R, 72, 124, 172
Wolpert, Abbott Gerard, 67
Wood, Revd. Douglas, 79, 126
Woodruff, Sister, Jennie, G, 304
Xavier, Sister, 151
Xavier, Francis, 54
Zacharias, Bro. 68
Zimunya, Chief, 102, 117, 355, 368
Ziqubu, Frank, 3, 45, 77
Zvimba, Chief, 101, 116, 117, 368
Zvimba, Revd. Meshack K, 341, 342
Zvobgo, Revd. J. M, 111
Zwana, Revd. Solomon, 341, 344

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A History of Christian Missions in Zimbabwe, 1890-1939 is a comprehensive study of the activities of early Missionaries in Zimbabwe, set within the broad context of Missionary work in Africa. Unlike the studies so far made on Missionary work in Zimbabwe, the present is broad-based in that it looks at the activities of the various denominations in all the parts of Zimbabwe and also focuses on the three important components of Missionary work, that is; the Ministry of preaching (*Evangelism*), the Ministry of teaching (*Education*) and the Ministry of healing (*Medical ministry*).

The book is a very significant addition to the study of Zimbabwean History.



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